AUG. 4, 1947

New Republic

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Washington Wire

Neanderthal Men

THE first Republican Congress in 16 years has gone home after restoring property rights above human rights. It has been a session dedicated to vested interests. It has been the most lobby-ridden Congress this column has seen in 25 years' legislative experience.

The Republican Congress passed no social legislation. It was negative. Its whole purpose was to set the clock back. With the average voter primarily interested in two things—high living costs and housing—Congress ignored the HCL for seven months and killed the Truman housing program. Congress' whole weight was on the inflationary side, though it was dominated by the so-called "conservative, sound-money" men. With a sort of sadistic brutality, it reasserted control over federal agencies, recklessly trimming pay rolls even to the point of discharging tax collectors who take in $20 for each dollar they cost.

It dismembered the Labor Department. It struck so savagely and blindly at labor that one provision in the new anti-strike law, aimed at gagging trade-union periodicals, is believed by the Justice Department to threaten all newspaper editors of America with fines and imprisonment if they comment on a federal election. It has carried shuddering anti-Red hysteria beyond the days of A. Mitchell Palmer, so that the House, with only 61 dissenting votes, passed the Edward H. Rees (R, Kans.) "loyalty" bill, called by columnist Marquis Childs "the greatest single thrust to undermine civil liberties in the history of our country."

This Congress brought back an atmosphere you had forgotten or never thought possible. At first, even the vested interests themselves couldn't believe it. And then you saw them, the Neanderthal Men, lurching forward on hairy feet—the sugar lobby, the wool lobby, the rail lobby, the real-estate lobby, the Power trust—tiptoeing back again, fingering things tentatively and then more boldly. Victories fought and won years ago, like the TVA, were suddenly in doubt. Everything was debatable again.

And how did all this happen? Why, because labor leaders waited till after the fight had been lost to pour out their millions against the Taft-Hartley Act; because millions of easy-going independent voters didn't bother to go to the polls in the 1946 election.

Looking back on this vivid session we shall remember two scenes. The silent, awed, joint session of House and Senate on the afternoon of March 12, when President Truman in his desiccated voice asked for Greek-Turkish aid, and congressmen turned to each other somberly and by their silent glances said, "So . . . it has come to this." And that other scene when, after weeks of taunts, innuendoes and attacks, Senator Kenneth D. McKellar (D, Tenn.) sneeringly asked David E. Lilienthal what he meant by "democracy," and Lilienthal replied. He spoke quietly and fervently, and all of a sudden that murky committee room was filled with singing birds. Democracy, Lilienthal began, is a belief in the dignity of man. He finished as quietly as he began, and when he ended there was a long, long hush, and we knew, suddenly, that America was all right. But silly old McKellar had not understood at all; he rustled his papers, cleared his throat and croaked, "Mr. Lilienthal, when you were head of the TVA did you have any Communists in your employ?"

THERE was a good job of advance press-agenting done for the Brewster investigation of the Howard Hughes airplane contracts. Much

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prominence was given to subpoenas on the Roosevelt correspondence which, it appears, belonged to the nation anyway. (As a matter of fact, Congress produced fewer investigations of the New Deal and war days than was expected.) Whatever Senator Owen Brewster (R, Maine) uncovers in the relations among Hughes, Julius A. Krug and Elliott Roosevelt, he certainly did not create a judicial atmosphere for the inquiry by his advance release of lurid and unverified charges.

THE public hasn't heard much about testimony given to the Congressional Small Business Committee on steel capacity, and yet this is a vital issue. The steel industry doesn't want to expand its plants. The same thing happened just before the war. Plants are enormously expensive. To increase ingot capacity 10 million tons might cost a billion or so. And yet government officials all say that if we are going to continue full employment, larger steel capacity is necessary. Right now auto manufacturers are laying off workers because there isn't enough steel.

The crux is: do we really believe in full employment or don't we? If a slump comes, excess plants would be enormously expensive for the steel industry. Their spokesmen won't admit it in testimony, but their reluctance to expand obviously stems from the expectation that the old business boom-and-bust cycle is headed right back. The point is that failure now to provide adequate steel capacity insures the very "bust" which is feared.

NOTES. – Truman emerges from this session with more popular support and approval than when Congress opened last January. . . . From the global view, the most striking feature of the session was the contrast between the casual pace of Congress and the anxiety and agony of world events. . . . And once again the split between White House and Congress illustrated the single greatest weakness of the American system of government.

Washington T. R. B.

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New Republic

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News in Focus

Men of Distinction

IN the final hours of the 80th Congress, Speaker Joe Martin took a brief respite and turned the gavel over to a Republican member from the floor. Flushed turkey red, like a few others of his celebrating colleagues, the temporary speaker glowered around the noisy House, then brought his gavel down with a resounding crack and barked: "Shut up! Things will go faster!"

Faster and faster, as in Lewis Carroll's fantasy, Congress stumbled through the last hectic days, voting a mass of legislation that added further documentation to its record of irresponsibility (see editorial, page 15). Before its last gasp, Congress:

¶ Froze Social Security taxes, thus depriving the government of $1.8 billion additional revenue.

¶ Denied veterans an increase in allowances to balance the increased cost of living.

¶ Closed the door to needy Displaced Europeans.

¶ Appropriated $11 million to employ thousands of new agents to pass on the "loyalty" of other government employees.

¶ Appropriated $440,000 for various members' junkets and investigations during the recess.

In both House and Senate, where the Taft steam roller kept up its power drive till the bitter end (see Fuller, page 10), the talk on the floor was of public issues, but in cloakrooms and committee chambers congressmen were engrossed chiefly in recess plans. Junkets are planned to England, Greece, Korea, the Ruhr. The 80th Congress, distinguished thus far only lamentably, will at least be the best traveled.

On-the-Spot Reports

EUROPE—*Harold J. Laski* on the dilemma of European Socialists posed by the Marshall Plan (page 6). *David Schoenbrun* on the gains of the French Communists as a result of the US Ruhr policy (page 7).

THE FAR EAST—*Jawaharlal Nehru* on the new India and the gravity and shame of the Dutch East Indies campaign (page 9). *Theodore H. White* on the Indonesian war (page 8).

CONGRESS—*Helen Fuller* (page 10). *Henry Wallace* (page 15) on the sellout of the 80th Congress.

Timely Tumult

THERE is another gaming scandal blossoming in New York. This time the hero is Joe Pledge, a squat bookmaker whose real name is Emetio Polizio. A one-time operator in the highly illegal and unincorporated association of horse-parlor owners, bookie Joe is singing the words to an old familiar ditty that seems to get on the city's hit parade every year or so.

The lyric, as rendered in Joe's grumbling bass, runs something like this: the police are not only shaking down the bookies for protection money, but they are ignoring their contracts. Joe himself has been victimized by such unethical practices, he says, having been pinched and fined $1,000.

Joe's cries of pain have already resulted in a grand-jury investigation (also a statement from the police commissioner that Joe Pledge is not exactly a model citizen to be crabbing about corruption). The inquiry was enlivened by the presence of such turf luminaries as "Willie the Ice" Perillo, "Blackie" Sonsisi, "Big Briggie" Bridgewood and his satellite, "Little Briggie"—all of whom had been tendered handsomely engraved subpoenas.

But as the grand jury recesses, New Yorkers are listening more attentively to Joe's poignant arias than to similar squalls of former years. One has only to look to Albany for a reason. Reports from the state capital indicate there is a chance that racket-busting Governor Tom Dewey, non-candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, might intervene in the affair—especially since the yells of foul play are ascending from the bailiwick of Democratic Mayor William O'Dwyer.

Open Season

BECAUSE his pretty Czech war bride was "leftist," former AAF Lieutenant David Downey strangled her, then beat her head with a rock while on a mountain-climbing trip in Colorado. "She liked labor unions," Downey explained.

Phantom Brigade

ONE of the year's most fascinating detective stories involves the purported existence and whereabouts of an "International Brigade," supposedly preparing to move into northern Greece to fight alongside the guerrillas. But, like the crew of the Flying Dutchman, these stateless soldiers have only been glimpsed through a peculiar haze.

Naturally enough, it was Athens that first spied the mysterious militia. On June 2, the Greek government announced that an international brigade, formed in southern France, had landed

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Socialist Europe vs. US Capitalism

by Harold J. Laski

Former Secretary of the British Labor Party

LONDON (by wireless).—The procedural stage of the economic conference at Paris has been completed with speed and good will. I wish I could feel confident that this has meant a real step forward.

The inherent tendency in Europe is toward a Socialist economy. All the evidence shows that American influence will be exerted to arrest the tendency. For unless it is arrested, there might well be constituted a Socialist Europe into which the US could no longer have access on its own terms. That is why the US emphasizes the need for a "free economy" and the "open door." A *Socialist* economy, such as we in Britain are seeking to build in the West and the Czechoslovaks in the East of Europe, cannot accept a classic *capitalist* economy as its basis.

A ruined Europe is with some probability to be restored by America on its western side. But the condition of its restoration will be its subordination to the new world role of United States capitalism. That is bound to have political consequences of a momentous kind.

We ought to reflect that we are dealing with an America which is for the open door abroad but is still for the closed door at home. We must not forget that the alternative to American exportation (US exports have increased 600 percent in a generation) is either internal crisis or another and more gigantic New Deal. Gravely as we need American help, the United States needs the renovation of European prosperity no less urgently. We ought not to accept that renovation upon conditions which would make Western Europe the outer defense zone of American capitalism.

We ought not to agree to be driven to a choice we need not make. Unless we are very careful, the price of American aid may be the rebuilding of the very same class under whose sponsorship Hitler came to power. That does not mean peace but war.

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at Spalato, in Yugoslavia, and would soon go into action. Then the strange battalion slipped back into the mists. A special UN investigating team could find no trace of the campaigners. But the game persisted.

Last week, one news magazine assured its readers that Washington had the US Second Marine Division and the 82nd Airborne Division standing by and that "these two units should be enough to handle whatever forces . . . the Communist guerrilla leader . . . had at his disposal."

Dictated but Not Red

MEMO: To Representative J. Parnell Thomas, care of House Un-American Activities Committee. From Special Investigator X-8432.

DEAR BOSS: You've done good so far, and every knock's just been a boost. Now here's the program for the next session. The Boys are drafting up the laws:

1. The colors of the American Flag shall be white and blue.

2. Portside lights of all US ships and aircraft, as well as traffic lights, railroad semaphores, automobile taillights, flares, theatre exit lights and roadside lanterns, shall be in Jersey orange, royal purple, or some other more patriotic hue.

3. Manufacturers of flannel underwear, Burgundy wine, ketchup, fire engines, lipstick, nail polish, rose-colored glasses, debit ink, little wagons and Little Riding Hoods will cease and desist the employment of subversive colors.

4. All citizens who have other than black, blond, brown, gray or white hair shall be card-indexed for possible genetic disloyalty.

5. The National League baseball team from Cincinnati shall purge itself of its un-American name.

6. To protect Americans from exposure to unavoidable infra-you-know-what-rays, it will be obligatory to face eastward at sundown and westward at sunrise.

7. All unavoidable nosebleeds will be properly concealed and preferably endured in private.

8. Without prejudice to existing arrangements between the ladies therein employed and the police force, there shall be strict enforcement of pigmentary purity of porch lights in those districts henceforth to be known as green-light districts.

Third Party Expert

THE House Committee on Un-American Activities last week added another impressive orator to the long list of witnesses it has summoned to declaim against the Red Menace. The latest expert was Walter S. Steele, chairman of a committee whose title reads like a Fourth of July oration—the *National Security* Committee of the *American* Coalition of *Patriotic, Civic* and *Fraternal* Societies. Steele, who also publishes a magazine called the *National Republic,* obligingly disgorged 300 pages of testimony. The New York *Times* and the *Herald Tribune* (headline—"THIRD PARTY AIM LAID TO U.S. COMMUNISTS") lent their circulation to Steele's views with column-long stories.

Not included in Steele's testimony or in the *Times* and *Herald Tribune* write-ups were these highlights on Steele's own political background:

¶ In 1941, Steele's committee was named in the mass sedition trials as one of the organizations to which the defendants made financial contributions.

¶ In 1942, US Army Intelligence described Steele's magazine and committee thus: "The *National Republic* is a fascist organization which should not be allowed in the public schools of Puerto Rico."

¶ A *National Republic* editorial (February, 1941) declared: "Our government will become as totalitarian as the governments of Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini the very minute we take a hand in any way to save 'democracies.' . . ."

Too Poor To Economize

MOSCOW (from Alexander Kendrick, by wireless)—Britain's dollar dilemma was perhaps never so acutely demonstrated as in the failure of the Anglo-Soviet trade talks here.

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There was no dispute about the availability of the Soviet wheat now pouring in from the collective farms and so badly needed in England. But the Russians also sought renegotiation of the 1941 wartime credit arrangement between the two countries, asking that the balance of payments—about 55 million pounds sterling—be spread over 16 instead of eight years, that the interest rate be reduced from two percent to one and a half percent and that the last instalment on a 40-per-cent-down cash payment for wartime supplies also be spread over a longer period.

Harold Wilson, Britain's Undersecretary of Overseas Trade, was unable to accept the Soviet proposal "in view of our overseas financial position." He meant that Britain's dollar shortage is so pressing that she cannot afford to give up, even temporarily, the relatively small amount of Soviet gold due her, in exchange for immediate and substantial food imports. The Moscow trade talks, entered into as a means of avoiding a further drain on Britain's scanty dollar supply, failed because that supply is already too low to make trading possible. The eight-week period Wilson spent in Moscow was the one in which the

The French and the Ruhr—by David Schoenbrun

PARIS (by wireless).—Two years ago, when the "Big Three" met at Potsdam to decide what to do about defeated Germany, the French were not invited. Ever since then, the French have been using their veto power in the Allied Control Commission for Germany to torpedo every Anglo-American-Russian move for the economic unification of Germany, or for anything else that might endanger French security.

The pay-off came last week. Just when everything seemed hunky-dory in the US-inspired 16-nations conference, Washington released a new directive, which, no matter what Washington pretended it to mean, meant only one thing in France—priority for the reconstruction of Germany over the reconstruction of France.

Foreign Minister Georges Bidault *et cie.* almost keeled over with shock, but Maurice Thorez and the Communists chortled those famous last words, "We told you so."

Several top-ranking Frenchmen raced madly across the Seine to the American Embassy while their colleagues dashed for the American journalists to tell one and all with anguished howls that they had been done in, sold out to the Communists. It is now an open secret that the American Embassy was informed that France would probably walk out on the Marshall Plan if America implemented to the full the apparent German program.

Are the French just being obstreperous, or have they good reasons for their behavior? Well, France has been invaded and grievously wounded by the Germans three times in the memory of living Frenchmen. After the 1914-18 disaster, the Anglo-Americans pooh-poohed French fears and demands for control. The Second World War was infinitely more crippling to France than the first was, but the same old mass pooh-poohers are still poohing with arguments such as, "In the next war of new and terrible weapons, we must forget old concepts of frontier barriers and so on." But 40 million Frenchmen living with the memories of what 80 million Fritzies did to them won't be outtalked again. So much for history.

Now for today's facts: France is in an economic and financial mess and, all are agreed, can avoid runaway inflation, bankruptcy and irreparable damage only if she gets her industry going. So here is France producing six million tons of steel with a capacity for 12 million tons, which she is unable to realize because she is not getting the coal and coke from the Germans who are the fellows who put the French in their present hole.

NOW for argument and theory. The French position can be summed up as follows. We know Germany is a vital economic unit in the heart of Europe. So we agree to restore Germany in a workable, healthful fashion. The Ruhr now is turning out steel at a rhythm of three million tons. The agreed level reached in March, 1946, was up to 7.5 million tons. If you want to boost production to that not-yet-attained figure, *allez-y, mon vieux.*

But—a big BUT—don't forget that our furnaces are banked at half capacity. How about giving us some coke to boost French steel to 12 million tons? If you do that, maybe we will even okay German steel up to 10 million tons. But we want priority this time.

Also don't forget that it's easier to ship one ton of coke from the Ruhr to France than three tons of French iron ore from Lorraine to the Ruhr. And, as for the argument that German industry is vital to all Europe, we agree. But would you mind also realizing that French industry too is pretty vital to Europe and could be more vital if we had more coal?

We want this rebuilt Germany to have some kind of noose around her thick neck. That noose is control—international control of the Ruhr—not nationalization as our British cousins propose, because that means German authority; not private enterprise as our American cousins propose, because that means not only German control but American investments. Frankly we don't want private capital from a non-European power to control a vital European industry. We want to convert Germany into a kind of European Tennessee Valley Authority or, in other words, international socialization. These are our minimum demands, say the French people. They in no way conflict with logic or humanitarian theories. But they provide the security and justice which your plans fail to give us.

ALL Frenchmen agree on this point of view, but the Communists are profiting principally from the arguments, because they said from the start that the Marshall Plan was camouflage for the rebuilding of Germany. If the French government takes any other stand, it's through and you can wrap up France in shiny cellophane and hand it over to the Communists. If that happens, you can write off Europe to the Soviets. You have had it, my friends. So runs the main theme song heard in Paris these days.

But Paris is considerably cheered by the Marshall letter to Bidault promising that no decisions will be made without French consultation. The French think they can work out a deal along the lines outlined above. If not, it's adieu and not au revoir, the end of a beautiful friendship.

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Marshall plan came into being, in which the Paris conferences were held to show that it may not be one world after all, and in which the specter of a revived and powerful Germany was raised again by Anglo-American actions. In the light of these developments, British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's attempt to have the Marshall plan and to eat the Soviet cake too was probably foredoomed.

The over-all effect of the failure of Wilson's mission to Moscow will undoubtedly be to increase Britain's dependence on the United States and the Marshall plan. The immediate result has been to deprive Britain of something like three million tons of grain—a serious blow to British hopes of easing rationing.

Nicaraguan Nosegay

WHEN Anastasio Somoza overthrew President Leonardo Arguello in Nicaragua last June and reinstated his 11-year-old dictatorship, the US State Department withheld recognition of the new regime, thereby automatically discrediting the Nicaraguan Ambassador in Washington, Dr. Don Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa, who happens also to be dictator Somoza's son-in-law.

Sacasa remained in Washington and observed all the customary niceties, including that of sending a bouquet of flowers to the late Mrs. Martha E. Truman in Grandview, Missouri. Last week, at the meeting of the Pan-American Union in Washington, Sacasa presented himself as the Nicaraguan delegate and, when Mexico and Guatemala challenged his credentials, Sacasa leaped up waving a letter.

The letter was written on White House stationery, dated July 14 and addressed to "His Excellency, the Am-

So the Dutch Are at War

by Theodore H. White

MURDER wandered last week across the green islands of the Dutch East Indies that stretch like jeweled beads over one-tenth the earth's circumference. Men were once more being killed for the sin of seeking freedom.

The action boiled most furiously in Java. There, 100,000 Dutch troops protected by American-made P-51's and B-25's launched a full-scale campaign against the ill armed forces of the Indonesian republic. Striking with the sharp-edged tools of American arsenals, Dutch columns drove from bases at Batavia, Soerabaja and Bandoeng with a threefold goal: to destroy the power of the republic chosen by the Javanese people; to force its troops into the hills above the crescent rice paddies; to protect the vast Dutch properties and investments in the islands.

The outlines of the war, which the Dutch still chastely styled "police action," were traced in history. The wealth of the Indies had made the Netherlands great. Vast Dutch estates controlled the islands' rubber and sugar production; the Dutch Indies monopoly controlled the world's quinine; oil, tin and spices poured further riches into the great banks of Batavia. Three hundred years of imperial history had, by 1941, transmuted the thrifty, homeland Dutchmen into tropic deputies of a white master race, men who ruled sternly and lived lavishly in a world of hungry natives.

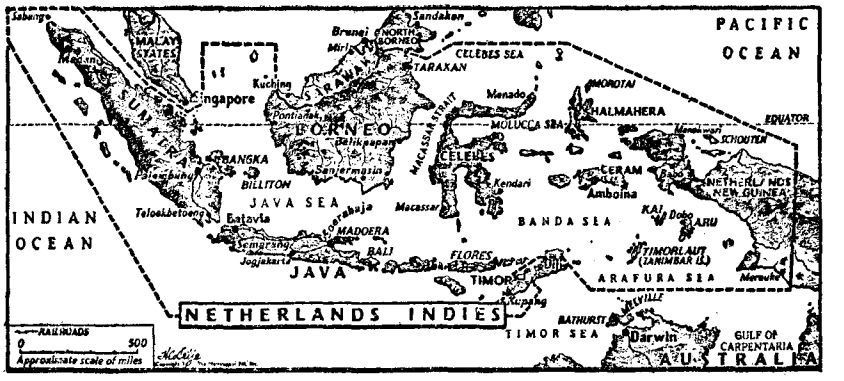
The Japanese shattered the Dutch Empire in 1942 and, in shattering it, destroyed the fear and respect the Dutch had instilled in the brown-skinned Indonesians. The Japanese left behind them the contagion of an idea—that dark men were equal to white men. Out of this idea and their own revolutionary experience, the Indonesians fashioned a republic of Indonesia and flatly refused to recognize their previous servitude when the Dutch returned in the wake of American victory.

For a year following V-J Day, bloody fighting sputtered between the Dutch and the Indonesians. Finally in March, Dutchmen and Indonesians signed the Cheribon agreement. On January 1, 1949, said the agreement, the Dutch would recognize full rule of the Indonesian republic over Sumatra, Java and Madura. Until that time, the Dutch would have advisory power in those islands and details would be worked out by negotiation.

From headquarters of the republic, however, came reports which alarmed the Dutch. The republic had independent plans and ideas for its future: it planned to control foreign exchange received for the sale of the islands' produce, in order to develop island industry; it insisted that the old Dutch monopolies be ended and that foreign capital be invited on terms of equality; it intended, as sovereign, to control the wages and working conditions of its citizens on Dutch-owned, planned plantations.

Negotiations dragged on in the sultry council chambers of Batavia month after month until finally they deadlocked. The Dutch insisted on sharing control of the local police in the islands with the Indonesians. The Indonesians, who still smarted from the gross and humiliating conduct of Dutch troops in the first year after V-J Day, refused. They offered to present the case for mediation by a third party. The Dutch refused, setting an ultimatum for Indonesian agreement. Confident in their increasing strength, in their newly purchased arms, the Dutch waited. On July 20, 24 hours before the expiration of the ultimatum, Dutch troops kicked off through the tropical mud to destroy a government that refused to let its people be policed by foreigners.

The Dutch announced: This is not a colonial war of suppression—it is only a measure to establish "law and order."



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bassador from Nicaragua," thanking him for the flowers and signed Harry S. Truman. Sacasa declared that the letter was prima-facie evidence that the President of the US recognized him as a lawful representative of a sovereign state, and demanded the right to participate.

The delegates, embarrassed by the White House boner, quickly voted Sacasa the right to remain at the meeting but, in spite of the letter, declined to permit him to vote.

New Hope about Cancer?

MOST types of cancer produce no pain or other symptoms in their early stages. By the time the cancer is discovered, in many cases it is too late to attempt a cure. That is one important reason why mortality tables say that 17 million Americans now living will die of this disease.

Three scientists working at the Chicago Medical School have stumbled, pretty much by accident, upon a fact which seems to offer great hope of earlier diagnosis of cancer. These men—Drs. Howard Beard, Bernard Halperin and Samuel Libert—have made an extract from human urine and injected it into rats. If the human subject has any malignant growth anywhere in his body, within two to four days there is a tremendous increase in the size of the spleen or the gonads, or both, in the rat. If the human subject has no malignant growth, no such enlargement takes place.

The experimenters were given urine samples from 32 persons, all unknown to them, and were able to identify correctly the six persons with malignant growths (cancer) and the 26 without. Their hypothesis (as yet unproved) is that the extract from the urine of persons with cancer contains a substance which stimulates the pituitary gland of the rat, which in turn causes the wild growth of the spleen or gonads. The pituitary, one of the endocrine glands (glands of internal secretion) is known to control growth in all animals (including man).

If these results are verified by further tests, they will be of great importance.

A Cable from Pandit Nehru

by Jawaharlal Nehru

Vice-President of the Indian Interim Government

NEW DELHI (by wireless).—Owing to the secession of some parts of India the immediate problem is to finalize the partition and settle down to work in the new conditions. The food situation is very serious. This has been worsened by the Dutch action in Indonesia in seizing rice stocks meant for India. We have to take urgent steps to obtain foodstuffs from abroad and to add to our domestic production. Lack of foreign exchange comes in the way both in importing food and in buying capital equipment from abroad. Hence the release of sterling balances is of vital importance to us.

We have already a dozen big projects in hand for damming rivers, developing power resources, irrigation, etc. Some of these are as big in area as the TVA. We shall push these on as rapidly as possible. We propose to appoint a planning commission to develop industry, agriculture and social services in an organized and planned manner. Scientific research will have first priority.

Our provincial governments are already committed to far-reaching land reforms to result in the abolition of the landlord system and also to the development of popular education. These will be fully supported by the central government.

A great majority of British civil servants will be leaving India by August 15. Probably very few British civil servants or military officers will be left in India after March, 1948. Only a few who might be required by us for special purposes will be invited to remain. It is our definite policy completely to Indianize the civil and defense services by next April.

We propose to have a relatively small but highly efficient army, a growing air force and, to begin with, a small navy. Training schools for these are being enlarged or being established.

FOREIGN capital will be welcome in India for our schemes of development on profitable terms, but the control of Indian industry must remain in Indian hands. Some of our basic industries and public utilities are likely to be controlled by the state.

It is difficult to prophecy about the future, but it seems inevitable that India and Pakistan must have much in common and will have to coöperate in many fields. This coöperation should lead to closer relations and possibly to some kind of union. That can only come with mutual good will and the force of circumstances.

In our foreign relations we have emphasized our desire not to be entangled in power politics and rival blocs but to try to be friendly with all nations. We are anxious to develop our own resources and raise our standards of living, and we shall do our utmost to preserve peace.

We have been greatly disturbed by the recent happenings in Indonesia. Military aggressive action on a big scale involving organized destruction by bombing of the nerve centers of the country is a negation of the United Nations Charter. If there is any dispute between nations it must be referred to arbitration or to the UN. For any power to refuse arbitration and to take unilateral action is to strike a grievous blow at the United Nations.

The League of Nations failed because the individual powers ignored it and went ahead with their own expansionist schemes. The UN will suffer a like fate if it remains passive when warlike operations are started without any reference to it. This is a matter which affects Asia intimately but it affects the whole world, for in it lie the seeds of war and of destruction of world coöperation for the maintenance of peace. Indonesia has become a symbol and a test for all the powers and more especially for the United Nations.

TODAY, on the eve of independence, India's mood is strange and perplexed. There is a feeling of quiet confidence and triumph at her achievement and, at the same time, deep sorrow for all that has happened during the past year and the secession of part of the country. We realize fully that we have to face a multitude of very difficult problems both nationally and internationally. This is a sobering thought and yet the ultimate feeling is one of confidence in ourselves and in our future.

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ther experimentation, we may look forward to a day when the entire population will be given this test every year or oftener, and those in whom the results are positive will receive immediate treatment.

Caution: this work at present has no relation to any sort of cure for those already suffering with cancer. It is still in its earliest stages and must be received with reserve until much more work has been done.

The Ivy-League Lobby

THE National Science Foundation Act of 1947 was a triumph for the ivy-league lobby. The Act was designed to tighten the grip on government research money already held by Dr. Vannevar Bush, president of the Carnegie Institution and wartime director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, Dr. Karl T. Compton of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Dr. James B. Conant of Harvard and the few others who consider themselves the elder statesmen of American science.

Liberal opposition rested on three reasons: (1) these men are all very close to the military and can be counted on to take the reactionary-militarist stand on any question; (2) they are all physical scientists who look on social science as a sort of pinkish boondoggle; (3) they represent a handful of the biggest and richest educational institutions (MIT, Harvard, Columbia, Cal Tech, Princeton) which get all the best government plums.

Last year, when an Administration bill to unify government aid to private research was under consideration, Dr. Bush did all he could in private to kill the bill, and succeeded. That bill contained the three basic points that the Administration wished to see enacted into law: provision for aid to social as well as physical science; direct government control; and a uniform patent provision to protect the government's equity in research paid for by the people of the United States. OSRD and Army-Navy practice leaves patent rights in the hands of private firms or institutions which make discoveries as a result of government grants.

The new bill, sponsored by the Republican Senate leadership, is just Dr. Bush's dish. Social sciences are not even mentioned, although 98 percent of the US scientists polled in March by the Inter Society Committee for a National Science Foundation voted for their inclusion in foundation activities. Direction by a complicated board system leaves the President and the government with no control and assures domination by the Bush clique. And patents are to be handled "in a manner calculated to protect the public interest and the equities of the individual or organization" which made the discovery; *i.e.*, no change. There is also a clause that prohibits the foundation from operating any laboratory or pilot plant. All in all, a railroad or power lobby hardly could have done a slicker job.

Consanguinity

KENNETH ROYALL, the last Secretary of War under the old disunified system, made a weird beginning in high office when he issued an unsolicited denial that he had ever had intimate conversations with his brother-in-law, Johannes Steel, radio commentator, who ran unsuccessfully for Congress with left-wing support and has toured Soviet Russia. Nobody had asked Royall or accused him of giving away military secrets. But Royall, a North Carolina politician with his eye on the governorship, felt impelled to put out a communication to the press avowing that "the last time he recalls seeing [Johannes] Steel was at the 80th birthday party for Mrs. Royall's mother." (He gallantly refrained from announcing how long ago *that* was.)

The new secretary's press release inspired the Washington *Post* to an editorial, entitled "Poor Relation," which said that "perhaps one may draw from this the heart-rending inference that the War Department's policy henceforth in assessing the loyalty of its employees will be to regard no man as his brother-in-law's keeper and to deny the doctrine of guilt by association, beyond the second degree of consanguinity once removed."

Big Business on the Hill

by Helen Fuller

BIG business' best investment in 1946 was the Republican Congress. Thousands contributed to the GOP campaign in November came back as millions in corporate profits by July. The day before Congress adjourned, financial pages carried the real record.

US Steel, preparing to make a "necessary" price increase of $2-to-$5 per ton, reported an increase of 229 percent in profits for the first six months of 1947 ($24 million in the first half of last year, $79 million in this). Corn Products Corporation profit was up 636 percent for the same periods ($8.9 million for 1947, $1.2 million for 1946). Continental Can showed a rise of more than 200 percent (from $3 million to $7.1 million). On the record, big business could be well satisfied with its bargain. This Congress has stayed bought.

The 80th Congress was a demonstration of government by lobby and steam roller. The pressure groups drew up the agenda from those Republican campaign promises big business wanted carried out. And Senator Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio) and the Martin-Taber-Knutson gang pushed it through.

Wall Street sent some of its brightest tax experts down to serve as an "advisory committee" to help chairman Harold Knutson's (R, Minn.) Ways and Means Committee write the $4 billion tax-cut bill.

Thirteen registered lobbyists, with salaries totaling $75,450, acted as finger men for the real-estate lobby. With Senator John W. Bricker (R, Ohio) serving as an unofficial colleague and local real-estate boards all over the country applying the pressure from back home, they persuaded Congress to slash much of the remaining control on rents and building and to forget about any permanent public-housing program.

Fourteen power-company lobbyists, averaging $19,170 a year, led by Purcell Smith of the National Association of Electric Companies (salary: $65,000 a year), helped hold the knife while the House Appropriations Committee cut public-power and reclamation projects almost in half to remove "unfair government competition." Then

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they made a frontal attack on the Federal Water Power Act itself and began to eye the REA again.

The Association of American Railroads, with a lobbying budget of nearly $5 million per year, got its favorite bill (Reed-Bulwinkle), which would exempt railroads from the anti-trust laws, passed in the Senate and approved by the House Interstate Commerce Committee.

Colorado's Senator Eugene D. Millikin (R) and Representative William S. Hill (R) helped the sugar interests put through a sweet deal in the Sugar Act of 1948. The consumers' sugar bill: up $30 million.

Big business' biggest guns, the NAM and the US Chamber of Commerce, concentrated on labor first, taxes second. Labor had to be put in a stronger strait-jacket, the Taft-Hartley model, if American industry was to be kept safe for greater and greater profits and Congress was to remain a safe haven for reactionary vandalism. The NAM loaned the Republicans some of their best lawyers to see that the bill was airtight.

AFTER depriving labor of its rights to enter politics, the next campaign was to stoke the fires of anti-Communist hysteria already burning in Congress. The reactionary lobbies made a point of dragging up the Red menace in as many different guises as possible.

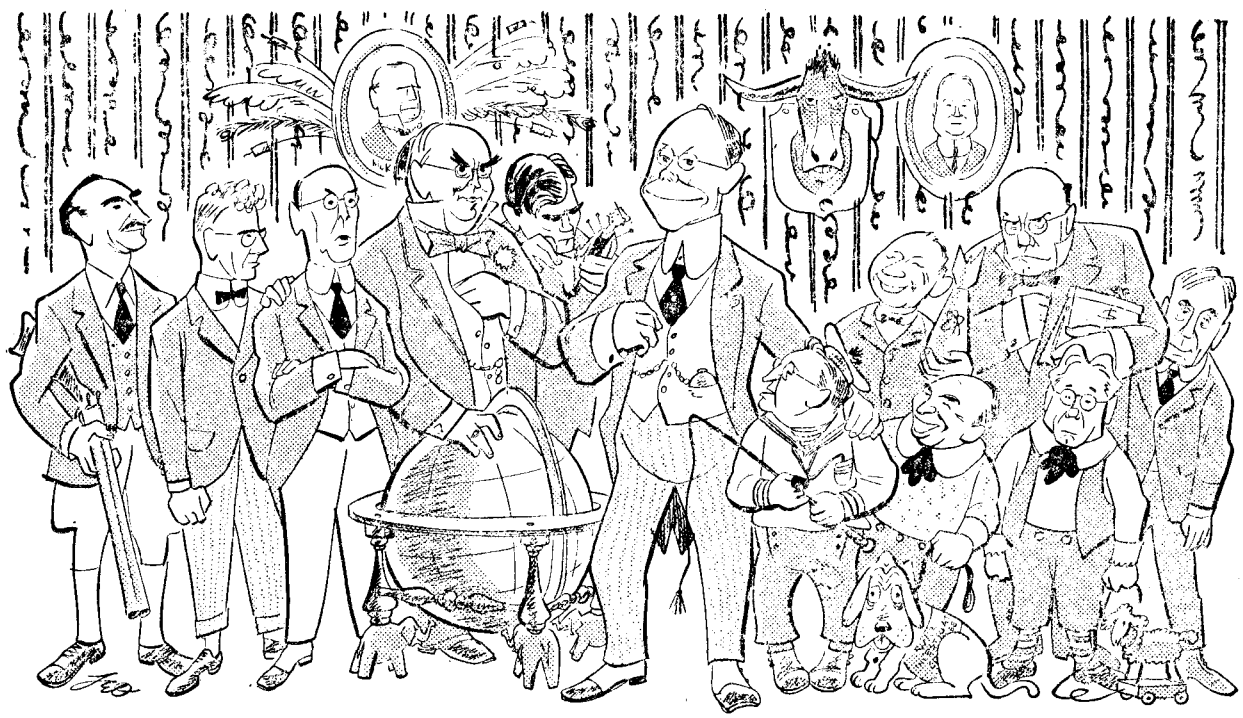
The special-interest groups could concentrate on blocking the exits from committees to make sure that no new legislation for the general welfare, for health insurance, federal aid to education or anti-discrimination accidentally escaped onto the floor.

There is no doubt who would win the Oscar for outstanding performance of the year if Congress awarded one. Bob Taft has won respect this year, if not friends.

Men like Senators Edward J. Thye (R, Minn.) and Ralph E. Flanders (R, Vt.), who came to Washington with a reputation for independent thinking, sigh and shrug and, thinking of their future in the Republican Party, vote with Taft. Time after time Taft held his line solidly: Taft and 47 Republicans pushed through the bill to outlaw portal-to-portal pay; Taft and 48 Republicans blocked recommital of the anti-labor bill; then they passed the bill. Taft's self-confidence climbed so high that at session's end he dared to challenge Vandenberg's leadership on foreign policy, stood alone against the Voice of America bill and prepared to make foreign-policy speeches around the country.

IN THE House, Speaker Joseph W. Martin (R, Mass), Harold Knutson (R, Minn), Charles A. Halleck (R, Ind.) and John Taber (R, N. Y.) had no time for the views of the minority except that part of it which comes from the South. Taber and Knutson blustered bills through their committees; Martin gaveled them into law. Non-Southern Democrats got icy stares when they tried to stick a finger in the legislative pie. But up North these days, the Dixie reactionaries are treated almost as well as regular Republicans. In this Congress, the Southerners make up 115 of the 188 Democrats in the House, 24 of the 45 in the Senate. The Republicans came within two votes of overriding the President's tax-bill veto in the House because 30 Southern Democrats voted the straight Republican ticket. The Republicans passed the Taft-Hartley bill over the President's veto because only nine of the 115 Southern Democrats in the House stuck by their party.

Business will be doing well if it makes as good a bargain in 1948 as it did in 1946.



GOP leaders, left to right, from lightly left Morse to rigidly right White

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Saigon Under Siege

by Walter L. Briggs

Saigon, French Indo-China

NIGHT has just fallen and all the tables on the Continental's sidewalk are occupied. Conversation between Foreign Legion officers and their women drifts along Rue Catinat. White-clad Annamese boys hurry about with glasses of cognac and pernod. A monsoon shower splatters the tin canopy, occasional drops sifting underneath and bringing cooling relief to bare arms.

Suddenly, you jump in your wicker chair. Then, remembering you had been warned you would hear the sound every night in Saigon, you settle back—though not at complete ease. The crash of arms—rifle, machine gun, mortar, artillery—continues. In the outskirts of the city, maybe two miles away, Viet Nam guerrillas are taking a swipe at French barracks, a supply depot, soldiers on patrol. Sometimes, you find out later, the firing continues all night so that you toss in your sleep.

Saigon is a city besieged. Not like pulverized Stalingrad or blitzed Coventry. More like ancient Troy. Life going on seemingly as usual inside, with a horde outside pinching, nipping, butting, but not yet ready to gamble on the wooden horse. The besiegers' headquarters, like those of our Revolutionary War's Francis Marion, are in the swamps, a huge tract west of Saigon. Some French refer to the guerrillas as the *Maquis*. The use of the word rings strangely to an American schooled to honor other men to whom it was applied.

All the way north to the Chinese border it is Saigon over again. The French hold only major cities—and not all of them. Supplies reach these strongholds by motor convoy . . . if they get through. "I wouldn't be caught alone," every Frenchman will tell you, "even just outside Saigon."

But that's about all the typical Frenchmen here will say about the "political situation." He cuts off your questions with a couple of Bilboesque sentences, usually through clenched teeth. "What should we do toward a settlement with Viet Nam?" most Frenchmen ask. "Why, round up the scheming bastards and kill every damned one!"

Besides the troops, who are tired of fighting in Indo-China and ache for home, there are two kinds of French here: the Old Hands and the New Hands. The Old Hands possess that unalterable "east of Suez" conviction, bred through decades as masters, that the "natives" are good for nothing but to be shoved around at a profit. Many of the New Hands are colonial administrators dispatched by the postwar French government apparently on the theory that their lesser prejudices would make them more amenable to the Annamese. These, however, gradually and almost universally are imbibing the attitudes of their predecessors.

To Old Hands and New Hands alike, Saigon has proverbially been "the Paris of the East." Living, on a base of cheap labor, always was cheap here. It still is, for the French, but Saigon has lost its luster. Even within the city a shot sometimes rings out from a window or behind a bush; a white man or woman sinks to the earth. Or a hand grenade explodes in a theatre. Or a mysterious fire guts one of the cream-colored brick-and-cement colonial homes.

SAIGON is on a midnight curfew. French and Moroccan soldiers, with their Nazi German fellows of the Legion, promenade the avenues with rifles. Military trucks rumble under the overhanging trees (tragically for American prestige with the Annamese, some still bear the legend: "US Army"). Royal Air Force personnel (here to keep open a link between Hong Kong and Singapore) barricade the iron-grilled doors of their quarters on tense nights. The few Americans (consular, oil, missionary) take no chances.

Yet the French still gather at the Continental for their evening drinks. There they watch the city stream home from work: French women in Parisian modes and coiffures; monocled officers with hats like oversized powder boxes; businessmen in white linens; Chinese in sateen. Best of all, Annamese maidens, erect, dignified, of statuesque beauty, with their ankle-length cassocks, slit to the waist, over flowing trousers.

At the Cercle Sportif the French swim and play tennis. At Au Chalet the cuisine remains good, with fine claret and champagne accompanying dinner. But this is for the masters. To Saigon's hereditary inhabitants life is drudgery compounded with fear of imprisonment for a suspicious act, inflation (the US dollar, for instance, in the black market brings nine times as many piastres as in 1941), long working hours for wages which drag far behind rising prices (living costs have increased 24 times since 1939; wages only about 10 times), dingy homes, widespread illiteracy, plague and cholera.

A PRIMARY reason for the rise of prices is the Viet Nam encirclement. Many Annamese farmers refrain from helping to provision Saigon. Chinese merchants, more or less neutral, are the most important middlemen, although a few adventurous Frenchmen roll into the countryside with armed escort to forage for food. Rationing and price control are on the books, but no serious attempt is made at enforcement.

Saigon is the capital of Cochin China, one of three provinces (including Annam and Tonkin, further north) which Viet Nam seeks to incorporate in an independent country within the French Union. To forestall that eventuality, France established a provisional "republic" of Cochin China in Saigon. French spokesmen reiterate vehemently that the five million inhabitants of Cochin China want no part of the "Communist" Viet Nam government. But the puppet republic long since has become such a laughingstock that the more candid French officials admit frankly that it has only the slightest Annamese support.

The other day I was lunching with one of Saigon's few liberal newspapermen. "Do you see the Viet Nam people every day?" I asked, meaning, of course, Viet Nam's local leaders—and wondering how he got away with flirting with the underground. The journalist jerked his head toward the huge street-front window. A half-dozen Annamese were passing by.

"Certainly I see them," he replied. "Hundreds of them."

Walter L. Briggs, former war correspondent in the Far East, is now touring Southeastern Asia.

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"Mussolini Wasn't So Bad"

by John Mecklin

ROME (*by cable*). – Italy, this blistering summer, is probably the only country in Europe where a Communist Party newspaper publishes the daily adventures of "Dagwood and Blondie" and where bandit gangs are still more interested in old-fashioned robbery than in politics.

Italy's new republic was one year old last month and fast becoming one of the key points along the ever tightening East-West frontier, but its shrewd, lovable, cynical, emotional, adaptable people are much more interested in figuring new ways of evading the tax collector and new excuses for a holiday and playing the game, Boccie, in the cool of evenings, than in the bitter struggle of politics.

Questions of the moment have a terrible urgency—the new government's exclusion of Communists, which conceivably could lead to civil war; the Truman Doctrine; the Marshall plan; international intrigue over the peace treaty; the presence of more than two million unemployed and a serious inflation menace—but the Romans usually prefer to look the other way. Immediately after the fall of fascism there was a moment of concern for matters of state. But today the mass of people have retreated into a hard shell of indifference, which seems selfish, but in fact is really born of two thousand years of troubles.

In the teeming, sweating, simmering black-market centers of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele or Campo Di Fiori, olive oil is 1,000 lire a liter; wine is 120 lire; eggs, 35 each; sugar, 900 lire a kilogram; chicken, 1,200 lire a kilogram; spaghetti, 350 lire a kilogram. And the income for a family of five is perhaps 25,000 lire monthly.

About this there is less indifference. You hear such conversations as: "This can't go on. People won't stand for it." "I know, Signora, but I don't make prices."

John Mecklin is an editor of the Rome Daily American.

Meanwhile, political adventurers are ever ready. On a Sunday anywhere in Italy they turn out people by the tens of thousands to piazzas to be harangued, and only the change of a syllable or two stands between the "Duce, Duce" of yesteryear and the slogans of the Communist leader, Palmiro Togliatti, and the Uomo Qualunque spellbinder, Guglielmo Giannini.

Politically, Italy is divided by an ever widening gap between far Right and far Left, and suffering from a rotten press, corruption in every level of society, fantastic luxury in the midst of poverty, ruthless political exploitation, crime and decadence. There are scores of ominous similarities to the restless years after World War I which exploded in the March on Rome. The fruits of the Allied victory and of the efforts of 30,000 American soldiers buried from Sicily to the Alps are fast slipping away. The probability of establishing a truly democratic Italy is slender. And ironically, the fault, at least in part, lies with the Allies themselves. They failed to clean up after fascism or to make the Italians do it, with the result that industry is controlled today by the same men who got there through the Fascist system. Even the press, where Fascist sympathies are easy to remember, is again under the control of the same men—such as the Perone family, owners of *Il Messaggero*—and today they are using their control of publishing facilities to squeeze out leftist-inclined competitors.

Equally important, however, has been the unfortunate effect of United States foreign policy. The new right-wing government formed by Alcide de Gasperi on June 1 is a direct product of the Truman Doctrine, either as a result of specific Washington pressure to throw out the Communists or of de Gasperi's idea of what the United States would like in return for the dollar loans that Italy needs so desperately—estimated at $200 million for 1947 alone and $2 billion over the next four years.

Hard facts for de Gasperi

DE GASPERI himself, leader of the Church-supported Christian Democratic Party, is a true anti-Fascist who spent four years in a Fascist jail. His plan was to retain the coalition government structure adopted by the Bonomi cabinet during the last years of the war. But he failed to understand the enormous strength of Italian communism, which won four million votes in the elections in June, 1946, for the Constitutional Assembly, and is growing fast. When he ousted the Communists, all the other left-wing parties stayed out, too. He ended with a single party cabinet in which the "left" was represented by Count Carlo Sforza as Foreign Minister. The cabinet probably does not have the support of the majority of the people.

The Left has pledged destruction of this shaky cabinet, which it calls a "Black Government," meaning a government of priests, and it now appears that strikes, demonstrations and the like will probably be staged in hopes of sabotaging the government's fight against inflation and perhaps to provoke the police into firing upon workers, thereby precipitating a chain reaction. The hard fact is that the Left cannot afford to allow this government to succeed and thereby bolster the right-wing forces for the first national elections under the new constitution, now scheduled for the early spring of 1948. Against these forces, helped by

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American dollars and Marshall-plan benefits, the Left has only one effective weapon—the six million tightly organized members of the Communist-dominated Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGIL).

A divided people

IT is always a possibility that Italy can survive these tensions and still remain democratic, but the chance seems terribly slim. It is a certainty that United States policy is aggravating the sickness of a divided people. Washington seems to fail to understand that in Italy today there is no such thing as the conception of a loyal opposition. Instead, opposing viewpoints literally involve fascism v. communism, and a condition of latent civil war. If Washington policy-makers understood this, perhaps we could have used our enormous influence to try to bridge the Left-Right schism and force a coalition government into social and economic reforms which are so much more urgent and basic than the mere presence of Communists in the cabinet. Without these reforms, some kind of political extreme is probable, regardless of US policy.

Internally, Italy is hanging on the verge of runaway inflation. The budget deficit at the end of the last fiscal year was twice what was estimated at the beginning. The harvest now coming in is far below last year's and the government's collection campaign is failing badly. The state, it is estimated, will be collecting about one-third of the taxes due. The government has been successful for the moment in stopping the downward plunge of the lire, which fell as low as 800 to the dollar in the black money markets two months ago. It is now about 680, compared to the legal rate of 500.

Sumner Welles notwithstanding, Italian Communists are supported by Italians and not by money from Moscow. Their leader, Moscow-trained Palmiro Togliatti, a smallish man with a quick wit and a winning smile, is probably the top politician in Italy. The Italian Communist Party has 2.2 million members enrolled, making it one of the largest in the world; it avoided an open clash with the Church even to the extent of voting to include the Lateran pacts in the new constitution; and it has managed to maintain a nationalistic viewpoint despite general subservience to the Moscow line.

The Uomo Qualunque movement on the extreme Right, is led by fat, sinister-looking Giannini, with his theory of the "Administrative State." It claims five million votes, and best estimates indicate that the Communists, Christian Democrats and the Qualunquis are about equally strong. The Christian Democrats have lost heavily since their triumph a year ago, which is due largely to their attempt to collaborate with the Communists on one side and to the policy of inaction resulting from their efforts to reconcile the interests of clericals, big landholders, peasants and factory workers on the other. The Socialists are split, with the anti-Communist faction and a weak pro-Communist faction submerged under the coattails of their powerful allies.

The Church has supported the Christian Democrats all too often through priests who haven't hesitated to collect votes by threats of hellfire and damnation, and recently a Sicilian bishop even refused a Christian burial to a Communist leader. A Vatican prelate revealed the other day that "most people in my office switched to the Uomo Qualunque" because of the de Gasperi middle-road policy. The Church itself, with one of the strongest popes of modern times, is fighting a battle for existence with communism, but recently *Osservatore Romano* editorials have suggested a tendency toward trying to return to a neutral position.

Just enough to eat

GENERALLY speaking, there is enough to eat in Italy for the moment, though the bread ration of 250 grams daily is among the lowest in the world. Industry has reached about 80 percent of prewar production. Reconstruction is making remarkable progress, especially in railways and communications. But all this is offset by political maneuvers, maldistribution and pure corruption. The result has been a continuous series of bread riots and mob outbreaks which have claimed scores of dead during the last two years. Recently, de Gasperi himself was prevented by leftist hecklers from delivering a Piazza speech in Venice. A worse incident was the brutal tommy-gunning of a workers' gathering on May Day in a Sicilian village, resulting in eight dead, 33 wounded. It was blamed on right-wing "terrorists" reacting to left-wing victories in the April island-wide elections.

By European standards, Italy today is a democratic country—much more so than Greece, for instance—but somehow she seems to be a nation without direction. There are two features of her postwar life symbolizing the quality of futility which to a sympathetic foreigner is profoundly disturbing. These are the absence of new leaders and a postwar tendency toward fascism.

The crisis of leadership

NONE of the men in influential positions today has emerged since the war. Togliatti, de Gasperi, Nenni, Sforza, all were prominent in pre-Fascist days. It is almost pitiful to watch this nation reach back into the dead past for the leadership it so desperately needs. At every new crisis the first names brought up to replace de Gasperi are those of World War I Premier Vittorio Emanuele Orlando or pre-Fascist Premiers Francesco Saverio Nitti or Ivanoe Bonomi. The President of the new republic is an obscure, pre-Fascist statesman, Enrico de Nicola, and it is an ironic comment on the character of postwar Italy that, according to one of his close friends, he voted for the monarchy in the referendum a year ago.

Fascism seems to have killed or suppressed the youthful spirits Italy needs so badly, and the threat of new fascism in Italy today goes under new names. So-called neo-Fascists are active in digging up corpses, scribbling "Viva il Duce!" on walls after dark, but they still are pretty much on the lunatic fringe. A really disturbing trend is the attitude of the people and the growing frequency with which you hear: "Mussolini wasn't so bad. If only he had stayed out of war."

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The 80th Sell-out CONGRESS

by Henry Wallace

THE 80th Congress of the United States was a sell-out. The Congress sold out the millions who cast the votes, to the few who put up the cash.

The vote-by-vote report in the pages that follow sums up the record of this Congress in two words: inaction and reaction. There was inaction on vital issues affecting the welfare of Americans. There was reaction in the passage of measures to destroy progress in America and to divide the world.

The record is plain, but it does not tell all the story. The story will be told in increasing misery overseas, and increasing unemployment in America later on.

When inventories have grown and dollars in the hands of workers and farmers at home and nations abroad are really scarce, when breadlines are formed again over the length and breadth of this nation, we shall remember this Congress as the one which brought America closer to depression and closer to war.

Our Congress is the most important body of citizens in the world today. Instead of the great leadership demanded to guide the world to peace, it has legislated in prejudice, hysteria and fear. It has failed to meet the urgent needs of relief and rehabilitation overseas.

At home this Congress has thrust upwards rents, profits and prices. It has lowered the value of pensions, war bonds and savings. It has threatened the earnings of labor and the family farmer. Its record is one of disservice to the preservation of our democratic capitalism and the promises which that system holds for all our people. Democratic capitalism lives by abundance. It needs sound planning and legislation to avoid recurring depression. It cannot stand still. The dynamic ingredients of democratic capitalism demand that we either move ahead or retreat. The record of the present Congress is a record of retreat. There is no security in retreat. The smears and witch-hunts promoted by Congress will never save democratic capitalism. Only positive action to prevent depression can do that job.

The New Deal was one great effort to undertake positive action to prevent depression. Every phase of the New Deal—public power, social insurance, aid to small farmers, protection for the wage earner—was fought by the men who dominate Congress today. They obstructed the New Deal but they never could destroy it.

In wartime our democratic government took further measures to assure the best use of our resources. Once

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again conservatives obstructed but could not prevent these measures. At the war's end grave problems faced our nation. Continuing shortages made it essential that the measures undertaken in wartime to protect our citizens be continued until the necessities of life became available at prices that all Americans could pay.

In 1944, when the war was still raging, the Republican Party, under Thomas E. Dewey, demonstrated its intention of turning America back to the vested interests. The Republican platform of 1944 promised to abolish government controls at the earliest moment. Many other promises were made. This promise alone was kept. With the aid of conservative Democrats, the powers of our democracy to prevent inflation and to ease the tasks of reconversion were destroyed.

First came the destruction of wartime controls by Congress, then the attempted destruction of the New Deal. In 14 years the Republicans had not been able to kill the development of public power, of public health services, of low-cost housing, of river-valley development and aid to the small farmer. So the Republicans undertook to starve these programs to death. Instead of saying, "Down with the New Deal!" they said, "Economize!" And when they gained control of Congress, they exploited the cry of economy to slash appropriations in the public interest such as those for the Columbia River Authority and the conservation, reclamation and crop-insurance programs. Crying, "Economize!" they and the lobbyists killed hopes of legislation for health, housing, education and social insurance.

THE Republican leadership of the 80th Congress has claimed a clear mandate from the people for this campaign of destruction. They had no mandate from the people to weaken labor, to give tax relief to the wealthy, to infringe civil liberties and to ignore the fundamental problems of our nation and our time.

Furthermore, they cannot honestly claim a mandate from the American people. The single saddest political fact of our time is that of a potential electorate of 90 million citizens, only 35 million went to the polls last November. The present Congress was elected by a small majority of a minority of the American people.

A study of the campaigns and the election statistics last November points up the need for strengthening our political democracy. I have long been alarmed at the political apathy of the great bulk of the American people. I have felt that we have always had less to fear from competitive ideologies than from the widespread misconception that our American political system has been so corrupted as to make a single vote unimportant. The salvation of our political democracy will depend on giving voters a clear choice between progress and reaction. For too long, America's liberal leaders have been willing to accept a few gestures of liberalism from office holders as all we should expect. Because liberal leaders have been willing to accept liberal gestures in the interests of what we thought to be "practical politics," we ourselves have helped perpetuate, and even extend, the political lethargy of masses of honest citizens who do not understand the subtleties of this kind of political maneuver.

We have not provided the leadership for millions of American families who have resigned themselves to less than an adequate standard of living. They are the millions who have stayed away from the polls. They are the millions who, in doubting the value of a single vote, are expressing a disbelief in the value of political democracy. They are the millions who must be mobilized to preserve political democracy.

I hope that we can make a successful beginning in this all-important task without the compulsion of a major economic crisis. We shall either build an articulate mass of progressive citizens before such a crisis develops or see our democratic capitalism replaced with a less desirable system.

I HEAR varied and conflicting liberal voices raised today saying that we must make the Democratic Party liberal, that it is impossible to make the Democratic Party liberal, that we must have a third party, or that no third party can succeed. If all these voices were united in concentrating on our immediate issues, the form of the instrument for progress would almost take shape of itself.

We need organized, independent, political action. We need liberal Democrats fighting within the party to make it, if possible, once again the party of Jackson, Wilson and Roosevelt. We need independents who will meet the varied legal requirements of the different states for a third party as a hedge against the complete sellout of the present Democratic leadership. We need new political raw material—new candidates for public office. Older men and women who have shied away from politics must step into the battle as candidates, if we are to improve Congress. Young Americans must be encouraged to make careers in public service. No thinking liberal, examining the records on the following pages, can find two dozen members of the present Congress worthy of future support. We must uncover new candidates thoroughly devoted to fundamental American principles and capable of anticipating and meeting future problems.

All this means action, intelligent and organized. Our inaction last year threatens our well-being today. Only action today can secure our well-being tomorrow.

H. W.

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United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 80th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Rep. McDowell (R, Penn.)

". . . There are groups here that hate Catholics and hate Jews and hate one thing and another. But as far as I can find, there is no evidence that they are dangerous. . . ."

Rep. Grant (R, Ind.)

"This program [the national health bill] did not originate in the United States, but in the secret councils of world communism."

Rep. Lodge (R, Conn.)

"We must abandon the idea that we can oppose the disruptive forces now at large in the world without interfering in the internal affairs of other countries."

Rep. Rankin (D, Miss.)

"Let us make peace with the German people and line them up on our side, if we are going into this battle royal throughout the world."

Sen. Eastland (D, Miss.)

"The mental level of those people [the Negroes] renders them incapable of suffrage."

VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS

Sen. Morse (R, Ore.):

". . . If my party thinks for a moment that on November 5, 1946, it received a mandate to return to a laissez-faire economy in this country . . . then I am satisfied that in 1948 the voters of this country will make very clear to the Republican Party that no such mandate was given in 1946."

Rep. Colmer (D, Miss.)

". . . The so-called Fair Employment Practices Act, sponsored by so-called progressive Democrats, was in reality part of a program which had its origin under the leadership of the Soviet-dominated Communist Party. . . ."

Rep. Gossett (D, Texas)

". . . I am not willing, however, for them to dump these undesirables [Displaced Persons] into our lap or to settle them in this country! . . . Most of those remaining in these camps are human wreckage. . . ."

Rep. Jenkins (R, Ohio)

"The theme song now is that we must surrender up our home markets to foreign countries in order to appease them and to establish a good-neighbor policy."

VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS

Sen. Taylor (D, Idaho):

"In Greece, the very people who fought Adolf Hitler are being hunted down with guns furnished by us. . . .

"The problem of Greece and Turkey is clearly one for the United Nations.

"Our last hope, our only hope, is the United Nations. We must build the UN, and we must strengthen it until it becomes the world's great bulwark against men's warlike insanity."

Rep. Hale (R, Me.)

"When we Republicans destroyed OPA last summer we did the best thing that could have been done for the American economy."

Rep. Taber (R, N. Y.)

"It is time the federal government begins to balance its budget and that we cease to raid the federal Treasury for every single item that is needed for the operation of schools or anything else in the US."

Rep. McGregor (R, Ohio)

"Activities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities during the coming year will be concentrated in four fertile fields. They are government, labor unions, Hollywood and our educational institutions. . . ."

Rep. Smith (R, Ohio)

"If we really want to fight communism, there is plenty of work for us to do right here at home, for we are already in it almost up to our necks. It is not Russian communism we have to fear but New Deal communism."

Rep. Shafer (R, Mich.)

"What I want to know is what are we waiting for? Why are we giving the Russians still more time?"

Rep. Cox (D, Ga.)

". . . We probably have not rendered the assistance to Chiang Kai-shek that was due him."

Rep. Keefe (R, Wis.)

". . . I lived in a period when we did not have the school-lunch program. I wonder how I ever got through it. . . . I got plenty of lunches and, may I add, we went out and did some work for some of those lunches. We knew how to work. The trouble is today nobody wants to work; everybody wants to have everything handed to him. . . ."

Rep. Crawford (R, Mich.)

"Let your price go up until producers come back into the field. . . . Fix it so that the farmer's wife and the city wife can go to the grocery store and buy the sugar they want when they get ready to buy it. . . . They are not going to fuss about whether they pay seven cents a pound or 12 cents a pound. . . ."

Sen. Taft (R, Ohio)

"You can buy meat if you can pay for it."

VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS

Rep. Holifield (D, Calif.):

". . . The custom of smearing people of good character with charges of 'communist,' 'Red fascism' and 'radical,' and the attempt to include within the opprobrium of these epithets, 'progressive,' 'liberal,' 'New Dealer,' is in my opinion, one of the most dangerous practices in contemporary American politics. . . ."

Rep. Hale (R, Me.)

"We Yankees realized soon after coming to Congress that our philosophies of government are so close to those of our Southern friends that it is generally impossible to perceive any distinction at all."

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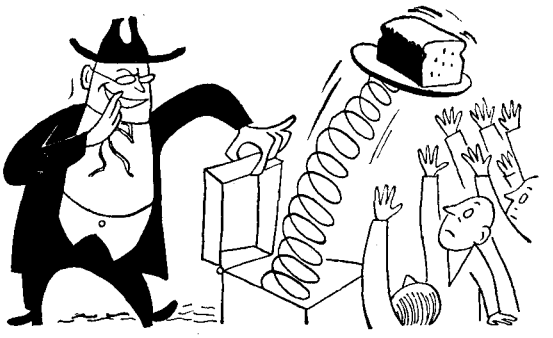
"...to provide...for the general welfare..."

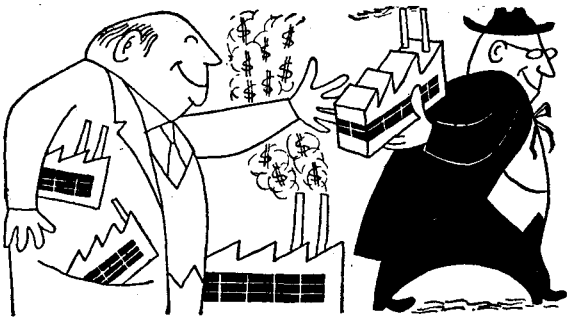
—Congressional duties specified Sec. 8, U.S. Constitution.

15 Major Problems Ignored by the 80th Congress

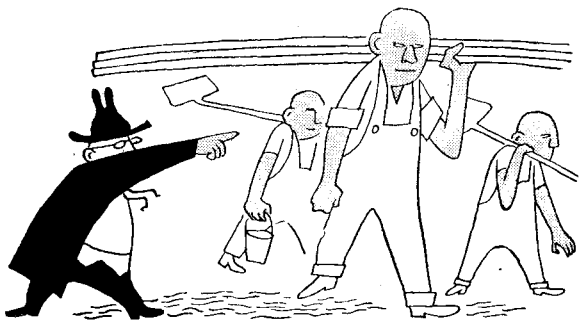


1. PRICES: Cost of food rose 32 percent in the past year. Profits of food processors jumped a minimum of 73 percent in the same period of time.

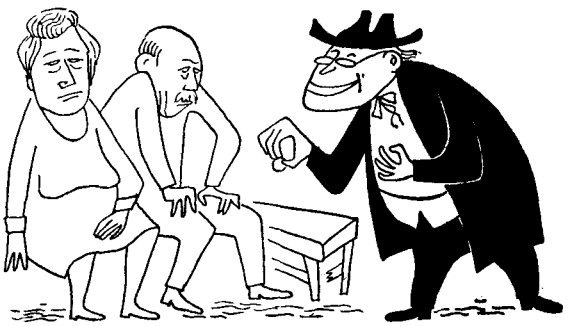
2. HOUSING: Six million American families "live" in homes unfit for raising families. Millions of veterans need the homes they fought for.



3. MONOPOLY: 70 percent of war plants sold by government have gone to 250 large corporations already controlling 67 percent of total U.S. facilities.



4. FAIR EMPLOYMENT: 14 out of 15 Negro citizens are kept in unskilled job classifications largely through discriminatory hiring practices.



5. SOCIAL SECURITY: No farm or domestic workers covered. Average monthly insurance payment for men quitting work at 65 is now $24.83.

6. FARMERS: Two million small farmers, who produced "margin of victory" food, face insecurity; need loans for current operations and land purchases.

7. UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION: Benefits for growing numbers of unemployed range from one-half to one-third less than basic subsistence requirements.

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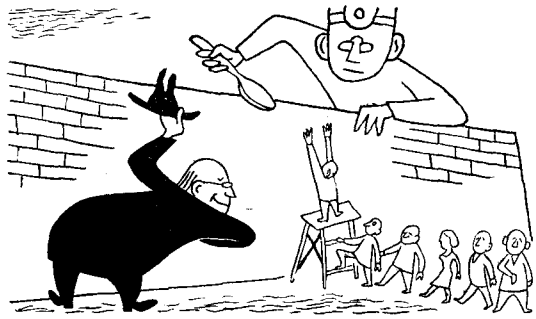
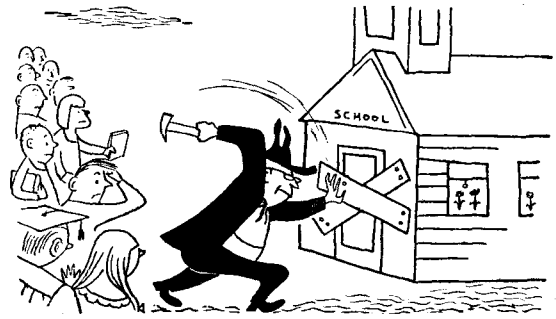
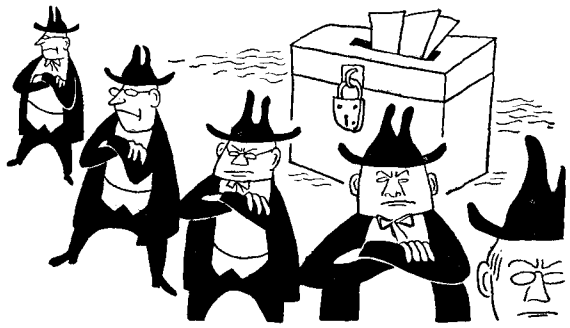


8. HEALTH: 69 percent of our people need financial assistance or insurance protection to meet costs of illness; need better distribution of medical facilities.

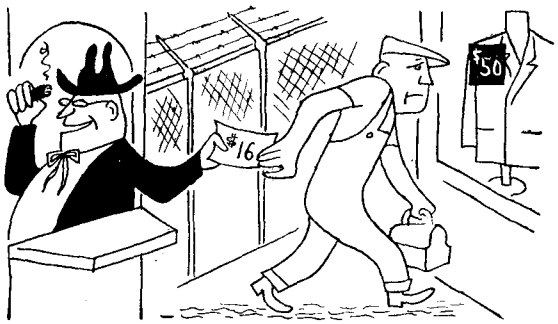


9. EDUCATION: National average expenditure $116 per child. 16 states below average. Millions denied "equal opportunity," denied even "average" opportunity.



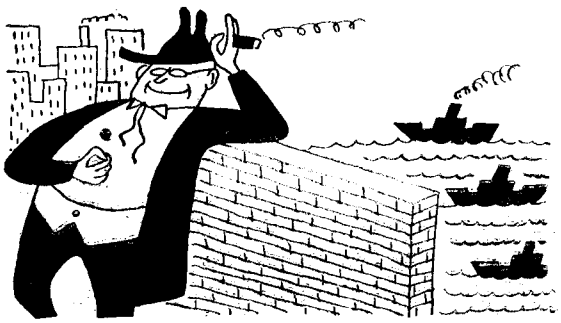
10. POLL TAX: 10 million American citizens, white and Negro, are deprived of free elections by poll-tax laws in seven states.

11. LYNCHING: 445 lynchings in the United States in past 25-year period. Latest lynching "legalized" by South Carolina jury.

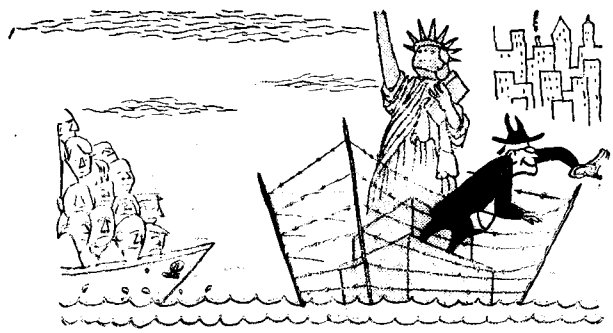


12. MINIMUM WAGES: At peak of our wartime prosperity 10 million workers in American industry were paid less than 65 cents an hour.

13. MISSOURI VALLEY AUTHORITY: 15 million people in 10 states deprived of potential cheap power, irrigation, flood control.



14. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS: Hundreds of commodities of importance in balancing trade with foreign customers and borrowers restricted by U.S. tariff.



15. DISPLACED PERSONS: 800,000 DP's look toward the United States for admittance. Normal immigration quotas unchanged.

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Explanation of House Chart

1. Taft-Hartley bill. Passed April 17, 308-107.

House Republicans, joined by 97 Democrats primarily from the South, pushed the Taft-Hartley anti-labor measure through, 308-107. Minority leader Sam Rayburn (D, Tex.) and Representative Augustine B. Kelley (D, Pa.) led the opposition.

2. Motion to recommit Interior appropriation and add funds for reclamatior projects. Defeated April 25, 197-140.

The House slashed the Interior Department appropriation 45 percent, with cuts falling most heavily on the irrigation and power facilities of such great regional projects as the Central Valley in California and the Bonneville Power Administration in Oregon. In an effort to restore funds for reclamation projects, Representative Michael J. Kirwan (D, Ohio) moved to recommit the bill. Heavy Republican opposition defeated the motion, 197-140.

3. Wolcott rent and building-materials-control bill. Passed May 1, 205-182.

The Wolcott bill, which killed adequate rent control when it went into effect on July 1, passed the House May 1, 205 to 182. The bill allowed a "voluntary" 15-percent rent increase, took controls off commerical building and lifted rent ceilings on hotels, resorts and other commercial dwellings. The vote to recommit, 197 to 189, was the closest in the House this session. It was opposed both by those who wanted to end rent control June 30 and by some who thought the rent control provisions too weak.

4. Greek-Turkish Aid bill. Passed May 9, 287-108.

The first test of congressional support for the Truman Doctrine of military and relief aid to countries "threatened" by communism was the Greek-Turkish-aid bill, which passed the House May 9, 287-108. Those who opposed the bill were of two extremes: Republican isolationists, who wanted no money for relief abroad, and liberal Democrats, who objected to sending military and financial aid without approval by the United Nations.

5. Motion to recommit foreign-relief bill and cut it from $350 million to $200 million. Defeated May 21, 205-170.

The House approved the conference report on the $350 million foreign-relief bill May 21, 288 to 86. A motion by Bartel J. Jonkman (R, Mich.) to send the bill back to conference, and insist on a cut to $200 million, was defeated 205 to 170. Although the conference bill carried the full $350 million requested by the President, a concession was made when $40 million was earmarked for the UN Children's Emergency Fund, leaving only $259 million for Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland and Trieste.

6. Motion to recommit Agriculture appropriation and increase school-lunch, AAA and REA funds. Defeated May 27, 180-174.

The agriculture bill, one of the most hotly contested appropriations measures in this session, passed the House May 28 after a motion by Representative Clarence Cannon (D, Mo.) to recommit was defeated 180 to 174. The bill cut $340,469,342 from Agriculture's requested budget. All attempts to increase funds for the school-lunch program, to restore AAA soil-conservation funds to $300 million and increase REA funds were rejected.

7. Motion to recommit wool-bill conference report. Defeated June 16, 191-166.

The wool-bill conference report, with the high-tariff amendment, was approved by the House on a voice vote, after a motion by Representative Sam Rayburn (D, Tex.) to recommit was defeated 191 to 166. Over the pleas of Secretary of State Marshall and Undersecretary Will Clayton to eliminate the tariff rider, both Houses yielded to the wool lobby and passed the bill. President Truman vetoed it. A new bill without the tariff provision has been introduced.

8. Vote to override the veto of the income-tax-reduction bill. Failed to receive a two-thirds vote on June 17, 268 yeas to 137 nays.

Republicans in the House failed by two votes to muster the two-thirds needed to override President Truman's veto of the income-tax-reduction bill. Two Republicans—H. Carl Andersen (Minn.) and Merlin Hull (Wis.)—broke party ranks to vote with the majority of the Democrats to sustain the veto. It was the first time in history that a tax bill, approved by both Houses, had failed to become law.

9. Vote to override veto of Taft-Hartley labor bill. Overridden June 20, 331 yeas to 83 nays.

As soon as President Truman's message vetoing the anti-labor bill was read, the House, without discussion, voted 331 to 83 to override. The bill would increase strikes, the President said, and would "arbitrarily decide against the workers" certain issues which are normally the subject of collective bargaining. The Senate overrode his veto June 23, 68-25, and the Taft-Hartley bill became law.

10. State Department information-service bill. Passed June 24, 272-97.

After silencing the "Voice of America" broadcasts, the House passed the Foreign Information and Educational Exchange Act on June 24, 272-97. The 97 "nays" were primarily Republican isolationists who objected to allowing the State Department to send any information abroad, especially to Russia. The Senate later restored $6,850,250 for the "Voice of America" in the $12.4 million State Department appropriation bill, signed by the President on July 9.

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THE RECORD OF THE HOUSE

Cong. District	Taft-Hartley Act	Interior Appropriations	Weakening Rent Control	Greek-Turkish Aid	Cut Foreign Relief	Cut Agriculture Funds	Wool Tariff	Override Tax Veto	Override Labor Veto	"Voice of America"
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ALABAMA										
3 Andrews	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
9 Battle	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
1 Boykin	–	–	–	–	O	+	O	–	–	O
2 Grant	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
4 Hobbs	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
6 Jarman	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
8 Jones	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
7 Manasco	+	+	O	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
5 Rains	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
ARIZONA										
AL Harless	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
AL Murdock	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
ARKANSAS										
4 Cravens	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
1 Cathings	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	O
7 Harris	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
5 Hays	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2 Mills	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
6 Norrell	–	O	O	–	–	+	O	–	–	+
3 Trimble	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
CALIFORNIA										
7 ***Allen***	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
8 ***Anderson***	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
18 ***Bradley***	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
11 ***Bramblett***	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
14 Douglas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Elliott	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2 Engle	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
23 ***Fletcher***	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
9 ***Gearhart***	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
4 Havenner	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 ***Hinshaw***	–	–	–	–	+	O	–	–	–	+
19 Holifield	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
16 ***Jackson***	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
3 ***Johnson***	–	+	–	O	+	–	–	–	–	+
17 King	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Lea	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
15 ***McDonough***	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
6 Miller	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 ***Nixon***	–	–	O	–	+	O	–	–	–	+
22 ***Phillips***	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
13 ***Poulson***	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
21 Sheppard	+	O	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 ***Welch***	+	+	O	–	+	–	O	–	+	+
COLORADO										
1 Carroll	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 ***Chenoweth***	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	O
2 ***Hill***	O	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	O
4 ***Rockwell***	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
CONNECTICUT										
3 ***Foote***	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
4 ***Lodge***	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
1 ***Miller***	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
5 ***Patterson***	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
AL ***Sadlak***	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
2 ***Seely-Brown***	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
DELAWARE										
AL ***Boggs***	–	–	–	+	–	–	O	–	–	–
FLORIDA										
5 Hendricks	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
1 Peterson	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2 Price	–	+	+	–	O	+	+	–	–	+
6 Rogers	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
3 Sikes	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
4 Smathers	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+

The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol [–] indicates an anti-progressive vote. Those paired, or announced against progressivism are tabulated [–]; those for, or announced for progressivism [+]. Those paired generally, absent or not voting are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of Congress.

*Names of Democrats are set in light type and Republicans in **bold italic**.*

*Numbers in brackets **after** certain names, e.g. [1], signify the following:*

1. *Elected to Congress but not sworn in until July 16 due to illness.*
2. *Resigned, May 16, 1947.*
3. *Died, May 26.*
4. *Died, May 5.*
5. *Died, April 18.*
6. *Sworn in May 5.*
7. *The Speaker of the House does not vote except in case of a tie.*

A short explanation of each of the votes appears, with a corresponding number, on page 20.

Cong. District	Taft-Hartley Act	Interior Appropriations	Weakening Rent Control	Greek-Turkish Aid	Cut Foreign Relief	Cut Agriculture Funds	Wool Tariff	Override Tax Veto	Override Labor Veto	"Voice of America"
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
GEORGIA										
10 Brown	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
4 Camp	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
2 Cox	–	+	+	–	O	+	+	–	–	+
5 Davis	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
7 Lanham	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Pace	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
1 Preston	–	+	O	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
6 Vinson	–	O	O	–	+	+	O	+	–	O
8 Wheeler	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
9 Wood	O	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
IDAHO										
1 ***Goff***	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2 ***Sanborn***	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
ILLINOIS										
13 ***Allen***	–	–	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
17 ***Arends***	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
25 ***Bishop***	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
3 ***Busbey***	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
15 ***Chiperfield***	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	O
10 ***Church***	–	O	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
24 ***Clippinger***	–	O	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Dawson	+	+	+	O	O	+	O	+	+	+
16 ***Dirksen***	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
8 Gordon	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Gorski	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 ***Howell***	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
18 ***Jenison***	–	–	+	+	O	–	–	–	–	–
14 ***Johnson***	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
12 ***Mason***	–	O	O	+	–	O	–	–	–	–
19 ***McMillen***	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
6 O'Brien	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 ***Owens***	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
22 Price	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 ***Reed***	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Sabath	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
20 ***Simpson***	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	O
AL ***Stratton***	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	O
9 ***Twyman***	+	–	–	+	–	O	–	–	–	–
2 ***Vail***	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
23 ***Vursell***	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
INDIANA										
4 ***Gillie***	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 ***Grant***	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2 ***Halleck***	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
5 ***Harness***	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 ***Johnson***	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
7 ***Landis***	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
11 Ludlow [1]	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
1 Madden	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 ***Mitchell***	–	–	O	–	O	–	–	–	–	+
10 ***Springer***	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 ***Wilson***	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
IOWA										
5 ***Cunningham***	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
6 ***Dolliver***	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
3 ***Gwynne***	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
8 ***Hoeven***	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
7 ***Jensen***	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	O
4 ***LeCompte***	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1 ***Martin***	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2 ***Talle***	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
KANSAS										
1 ***Cole***	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
5 ***Hope***	–	O	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
3 ***Meyer***	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 ***Rees***	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 ***Scrivner***	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 ***Smith***	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
KENTUCKY										
8 Bates	+	+	+	–	O	+	+	+	+	O
6 Chapman	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
4 Chelf	–	+	–	–	+	+	O	+	–	+
2 Clements	+	O	O	O	+	+	O	+	+	O
1 Gregory	–	+	–	O	+	+	+	+	–	+
7 ***Meade***	+	–	O	O	+	–	O	–	–	+
3 ***Morton***	–	O	O	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
9 ***Robsion***	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Spence	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
LOUISIANA										
8 Allen	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
2 Boggs	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	O	–	+
4 Brooks	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
3 Domengeaux	–	+	–	–	O	+	–	–	–	O
1 Hebert	–	+	–	–	+	+	O	–	–	+
7 Larcade	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
6 Morrison	O	+	–	–	O	+	–	–	+	O
5 Passman	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cong. District	Taft-Hartley Act	Interior Appropriations	Weakening Rent Control	Greek-Turkish Aid	Cut Foreign Relief	Cut Agriculture Funds	Wool Tariff	Override Tax Veto	Override Labor Veto	"Voice of America"
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
MAINE										
3 **Fellows**	–	o	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1 **Hale**	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
2 **Smith**	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
MARYLAND										
6 **Beall**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3 D'Alesandro [2]	+	+	–	+						
4 Fallon	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2 Meade	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
1 **Miller**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Sasscer	–	o	+	–	o	+	+	+	–	+
MASSACHUSETTS										
6 **Bates**	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
2 **Clason**	–	o	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
4 Donohue	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
9 **Gifford**	–	o	o	o	o	–	o	–	–	o
8 **Goodwin**	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
10 **Herter**	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
1 **Heselton**	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
11 Kennedy	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Lane	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
14 **Martin** [7]										
12 McCormack	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Philbin	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
5 **Rogers**	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
13 Wigglesworth	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
MICHIGAN										
12 **Bennett**	–	–	–	+	o	+	–	–	o	–
6 **Blackney**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 **Bradley** [3]	–	–	+	+	o					
13 **Coffin**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
8 **Crawford**	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
15 Dingell	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 **Dondero**	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 **Engel**	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
4 **Hoffman**	–	–	+	+	–	–	o	–	–	–
5 **Jonkman**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
16 Lesinski	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	o
2 **Michener**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1 Sadowski	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 **Shafer**	–	o	+	+	–	–	o	–	–	–
7 **Wolcott**	–	–	–	–	o	–	o	–	–	–
10 **Woodruff**	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
14 **Youngblood**	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
MINNESOTA										
7 **Andersen**	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
1 **Andresen**	–	o	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
8 Blatnik	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 **Devitt**	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
9 **Hagen**	–	–	+	–	o	o	–	–	–	+
5 **Judd**	–	–	o	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
6 **Knutson**	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	–	–	–
3 **MacKinnon**	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
2 **O'Hara**	–	–	+	o	–	o	–	–	–	–
MISSISSIPPI										
4 Abernethy	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
6 Colmer	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
1 Rankin	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
2 Whitten	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
3 Whittington	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
7 Williams	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
5 Winstead	–	+	+	–	–	+	o	o	+	+
MISSOURI										
1 **Arnold**	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 **Bakewell**	–	–	o	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
8 **Banta**	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Bell	–	o	–	–	+	+	o	o	–	+
6 **Bennett**	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
9 Cannon	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 **Cole**	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
13 Karsten	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 **Ploeser**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 **Reeves**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 **Schwabe**	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
7 **Short**	–	o	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	o
10 Zimmerman	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
MONTANA										
2 **D'Ewart**	–	+	–	+	o	–	–	–	–	–
1 Mansfield	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
NEBRASKA										
2 **Buffett**	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 **Curtis**	–	+	+	+	–	o	–	–	–	–
4 **Miller**	–	–	+	+	o	–	–	–	–	–
3 **Stefan**	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
NEVADA										
AL **Russell**	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

Cong. District	Taft-Hartley Act	Interior Appropriations	Weakening Rent Control	Greek-Turkish Aid	Cut Foreign Relief	Cut Agriculture Funds	Wool Tariff	Override Tax Veto	Override Labor Veto	"Voice of America"
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
NEW HAMPSHIRE										
2 **Cotton**	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
1 **Merrow**	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
NEW JERSEY										
3 **Auchincloss**	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
8 **Canfield**	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
6 **Case**	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
5 **Eaton**	–	–	o	–	+	–	o	–	–	+
2 **Hand**	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	+
14 Hart	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
10 **Hartley**	–	–	o	–	–	o	o	–	–	–
12 **Kean**	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
4 **Mathews**	–	–	–	+	+	–	o	–	■	–
13 Norton	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
11 **Sundstrom**	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
7 **Thomas**	–	–	–	o	o	–	+	–	–	+
9 **Towe**	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1 **Wolverton**	–	–	–	o	–	–	+	–	–	+
NEW MEXICO										
AL Fernandez	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
AL Lusk	–	+	–	–	o	+	+	+	o	o
NEW YORK										
42 **Andrews**	–	o	o	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
20 Bloom	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 **Buck**	–	o	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
25 Buckley	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	o
44 **Butler**	+	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–
32 Byrne	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Celler	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
39 **Cole**	–	o	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	o
17 **Coudert**	–	–	–	–	+	–	o	–	–	+
7 Delaney	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
43 **Elsaesser**	+	–	–	–	o	–	o	–	–	+
35 **Fuller**	o	–	o	o	o	o	o	–	o	o
28 **Gamble**	–	–	–	–	+	–	o	–	–	+
27 **Gwinn**	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
37 **Hall, E. A.**	–	o	–	–	+	–	o	–	–	+
2 **Hall, L. W.**	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
11 Heffernan	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	o
21 **Javits**	+	–	–	–	+	o	+	–	+	+
31 **Kearney**	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	+
40 Keating	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
9 Keogh	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
34 **Kilburn**	–	–	o	–	o	o	o	–	–	+
19 Klein	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 **Latham**	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
30 **LeFevre**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
23 Lynch	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 **Macy**	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	–	o
18 Marcantonio ALP	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 **McMahon**	–	–	–	–	+	–	o	–	–	+
6 **Nodar**	–	–	–	–	+	–	o	–	–	+
13 O'Toole	+	+	+	–	+	+	o	+	+	+
8 Pfeifer	+	+	–	–	+	+	o	+	+	+
26 **Potts**	–	–	–	–	+	–	o	–	–	+
22 Powell	+	+	+	–	o	+	o	o	o	+
24 Rabin	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Rayfiel	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
45 **Reed**	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
36 **Riehlman**	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
12 Rooney	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 **Ross**	–	–	–	–	+	–	o	–	–	+
29 **St. George**	–	–	+	+	–	–	o	–	–	–
10 Somers	+	+	–	–	+	+	o	+	+	+
38 **Taber**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
33 **Taylor**	–	o	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	+
41 **Wadsworth**	–	–	–	–	+	–	o	–	–	+
NORTH CAROLINA										
3 Barden	–	o	+	–	–	+	o	+	–	+
1 Bonner	–	–	+	–	o	+	+	–	–	+
11 Bulwinkle	–	o	o	–	o	+	+	–	–	+
7 Clark	–	o	+	–	+	+	o	–	–	o
4 Cooley	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
8 Deane	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
9 Doughton	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
6 Durham	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
5 Folger	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Jones	–	+	–	–	+	+	o	o	–	+
2 Kerr	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	o
12 Redden	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	o
NORTH DAKOTA										
AL Lemke	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
AL Robertson	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	o
OHIO										
AL **Bender**	–	–	–	+	o	–	–	–	–	–
22 **Bolton**	–	o	–	–	+	–	o	–	–	+
11 **Brehm**	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 **Brown**	–	–	+	+	o	–	–	–	–	–
3 **Burke**	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOUSE (cont'd)

Cong. District	Taft-Hartley Act	Interior Appropriations	Weakening Rent Control	Greek-Turkish Aid	Cut Foreign Relief	Cut Agriculture Funds	Wool Tariff	Override Tax Veto	Override Labor Veto	"Voice of America"
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
OHIO (continued)										
16 **Carson**	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
5 **Clevenger**	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
21 Crosser	+	+	+	–	+	+	○	+	+	+
1 **Elston**	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
20 Feighan	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 **Griffiths**	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2 **Hess**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
14 Huber	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 **Jenkins**	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
4 **Jones**	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	○
19 Kirwan	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 **Lewis**	–	○	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
6 **McCowen**	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
17 **McGregor**	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 **Ramey**	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	○	+
8 **Smith**	+	–	+	+	–	–	○	–	○	–
12 **Vorys**	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
13 **Weichel**	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
OKLAHOMA										
3 Albert	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
4 Johnson	+	○	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
5 Monroney	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
6 Morris	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
7 Peden	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
8 Rizley	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 **Schwabe**	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Stigler	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
OREGON										
3 **Angell**	+	+	+	○	–	+	–	–	+	+
4 **Ellsworth**	–	–	○	–	–	–	○	–	–	+
1 **Norblad**	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	+
2 **Stockman**	–	–	–	+	–	–	○	–	–	–
PENNSYLVANIA										
33 Buchanan	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 **Chadwick**	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
30 **Corbett**	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
23 **Crow**	–	–	–	+	○	–	–	–	–	–
9 **Dague**	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
32 Eberharter	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 **Fenton**	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
31 **Fulton**	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
1 **Gallagher**	–	–	○	+	–	–	○	–	–	–
19 **Gavin**	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
8 **Gerlach** [4]	○	–	○							
14 **Gillette**	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
25 **Graham**	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
21 **Gross**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 **Jenkins**	+	–	–	–	+	–	○	–	–	+
28 **Kearns**	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–
27 Kelley	+	+	+	–	+	+	○	+	○	○
18 **Kunkel**	–	–	–	+	○	–	–	–	–	+
4 **Maloney**	–	–	+	+	–	–	○	–	–	–
16 **McConnell**	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
29 **McDowell**	–	–	–	○	–	–	+	–	–	+
2 **McGarvey**	–	–	○	+	○	–	–	–	–	–
24 Morgan	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 **Muhlenberg**	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
15 **Rich**	–	–	–	+	–	–	○	–	–	–
5 **Sarbacher**	–	–	–	+	–	–	○	–	–	–
10 **Scoblick**	+	–	–	+	–	–	○	–	–	+
3 **Scott, Hardie**	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	+
6 **Scott, Hugh**	–	–	–	–	○	○	+	–	–	–
17 **Simpson**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
26 **Tibbott**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
22 **Van Zandt**	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
20 Walter	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
RHODE ISLAND										
2 Fogarty	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Forand	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA										
4 Bryson	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
3 Dorn	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
6 McMillan	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
5 Richards	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2 Riley	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
1 Rivers	–	○	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
SOUTH DAKOTA										
2 **Case**	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1 **Mundt**	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+

Cong. District	Taft-Hartley Act	Interior Appropriations	Weakening Rent Control	Greek-Turkish Aid	Cut Foreign Relief	Cut Agriculture Funds	Wool Tariff	Override Tax Veto	Override Labor Veto	"Voice of America"
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
TENNESSEE										
9 Cooper	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
7 Courtney	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	○	–	+
10 Davis	–	+	–	○	+	+	+	–	–	+
5 Evins	–	+	–	–	○	+	+	+	–	+
4 Gore	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2 **Jennings**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3 Kefauver	+	○	○	–	+	+	○	○	+	+
8 Murray	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
1 **Phillips**	+	–	–	+	–	○	–	–	+	–
6 Priest	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
TEXAS										
3 Beckworth	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
17 Burleson	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
2 Coombs	+	+	+	–	+	+	○	+	○	+
21 Fisher	–	+	○	○	–	+	–	+	–	○
13 Gossett	–	+	+	–	○	+	–	+	–	–
10 Johnson, L. B.	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
20 Kilday	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
12 Lucas	–	+	+	–	–	+	○	+	–	+
14 Lyle	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
19 Mahon	–	+	+	–	+	+	○	+	–	+
9 Mansfield	○	○	+	○	○	+	○	○	–	○
1 Patman	–	○	+	–	○	+	○	○	○	+
7 Pickett	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
11 Poage	–	+	+	–	○	+	+	+	–	+
4 Rayburn	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Teague	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
8 Thomas	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
16 Thomason	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 West	–	○	○	–	+	+	○	–	–	+
5 Wilson	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
18 Worley	○	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
UTAH										
2 **Dawson**	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	+
1 Granger	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
VERMONT										
AL **Plumley**	–	–	○	–	○	–	+	–	–	+
VIRGINIA										
6 Almond	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
1 Bland	○	○	○	○	○	+	○	○	–	+
4 Drewry	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	○
9 Flannagan	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
3 Gary	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2 Hardy	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
7 Harrison	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
8 Smith	○	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
5 Stanley	–	–	+	+	–	+	○	+	–	+
WASHINGTON										
4 **Holmes**	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
5 **Horan**	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2 Jackson	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 **Jones**	+	○	–	–	+	–	○	–	+	+
3 **Norman** [5]	–									
6 **Tollefson**	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA										
4 **Ellis**	–	–	○	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
6 Hedrick	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
5 Kee	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 **Love**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3 **Rohrbough**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2 **Snyder**	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	○
WISCONSIN										
4 **Brophy**	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
8 **Byrnes**	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2 **Davis** [6]					+	○	–	–	–	+
9 **Hull**	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–
6 **Keefe**	–	–	–	–	○	○	–	–	–	○
5 **Kirsten**	–	–	–	–	+	+	○	–	–	+
7 **Murray**	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 **O'Konski**	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
1 **Smith**	–	○	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 **Stevenson**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
WYOMING										
AL **Barrett**	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

SUMMARY: POSSIBLE VS. ACTUAL PROGRESSIVE VOTES ON TEN MAJOR ISSUES

DEM.	HOUSE	REP.
1904	*Possible progressive votes*	2396
1193	*Progressive votes cast*	478
62%	*Percentage*	20%

DEM.	SENATE	REP.
450	*Possible progressive votes*	510
268	*Progressive votes cast*	111
60%	*Percentage*	22%

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Explanation of Senate Chart

1. Confirmation of Lilienthal. Confirmed April 9, 50-31.

After 10 solid weeks of bitter assaults on his ability and character, David Lilienthal, former TVA chairman, was confirmed as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Senate Republicans were divided into two camps: Followers of Vandenberg, for Lilienthal, and followers of Taft, against. Seventeen Republicans and 34 Democrats voted down (52-38) an attempt to pigeonhole the Atomic Commission appointments by sending them back to committee. On the final vote Lilienthal and other Commission members were confirmed for terms ending August 1, 1948.

2. Greek-Turkish Aid bill. Passed April 22, 67-23.

The Senate responded to President Truman's urgent appeal to stop the spread of communism with American dollars, by voting April 22, 67-23, the $400 million program of economic and military assistance to Greece and Turkey he requested. Opposition stemmed from a group of unreconstructed pre-Pearl Harbor isolationists plus a handful of New Deal Senators opposed to the Truman Doctrine.

3. Taft-Hartley bill (HR 3020). Passed May 13, 68-24.

The anti-labor bill (outlawing the closed shop, jurisdictional strikes, secondary boycotts, political activity by labor, etc.) was passed by the Senate on May 13, 68-24, after a much milder substitute, proposed by Senator James E. Murray (D, Mont.) and 10 other Democrats, was defeated 73-19. The Taft-Hartley bill passed the House 308-107 and was vetoed by the President on June 20. The Senate and the House overrode his veto.

4. Kem amendment to cut foreign-relief funds from $350 to $200 million. Defeated May 14, 64-19.

An attempt by Senator James P. Kem (R, Mo.) to cut the fund for food and relief in Europe from $350 to $200 million was defeated 64-19. Instead, the Senate agreed, 79-4, to the $350 million recommended by its Foreign Relations Committee. Voting against the larger amount were Senators Harlan J. Bushfield (R, S. D.), John J. Williams (R, Del.), John L. McClellan (D, Ark.) and W. Lee O'Daniel (D, Tex.).

5. Income-tax reduction (HR 1). Passed May 28, 52-34.

The "rich-man's" tax reduction bill (passed by the Senate on May 28, 52-34) would have reduced taxes on personal incomes 30 percent in the lower brackets, about 15 percent in the middle brackets and 10.5 percent on incomes above $302,396, effective July 1. Democrats argued that tax cuts should not be made until next year and that available funds should be applied to reducing the national debt. Passed by the House on March 27, the bill was vetoed by President Truman. The House sustained his veto, 268-137.

6. Taylor substitute for rent-control bill, to continue existing controls for a year. Defeated June 2, 58-16.

As a last resort, to retain adequate rent control, Senator Glen Taylor (D, Idaho) offered a substitute for the rent-control bill. His amendment would have extended rent controls for one year. It was defeated on June 2, 58-16.

7. Reed-Bulwinkle bill to give railroads exemption from anti-trust laws. Passed June 18, 60-27.

Sponsored by the American Association of Railroads, the Reed-Bulwinkle bill would legalize the railroads' rate-making bureaus by exempting them from prosecution under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act when they make joint agreements on rates. Southerners and Westerners opposed the bill because it encouraged railroads to continue discriminatory rates. The bill, passed June 18, 60-27, was still pending in the House on July 18. President Truman has indicated that he would veto such a measure.

8. Conference report on wool bill. Passed June 19, 43-38.

Starting out as a fairly innocuous bill authorizing the Commodity Credit Corporation to continue buying domestic wool at a fixed 42 cents a pound, the wool bill was amended in the House, where the wool lobbyists concentrated, to require the Secretary of Agriculture to impose "a fee" on foreign-wool imports if he found foreign wool underselling domestic wool. Secretary of State Marshall and Undersecretary Will Clayton protested that such a move toward higher tariffs would wreck US international economic policy. Republican "high-tariff" men in the Senate pushed the bill through on June 19, 48-38. The President vetoed it. There was no attempt to override his veto. Senator Edward V. Robertson (R, Wyo.) has introduced a new bill carrying no provisions for import fees or quotas.

9. Vote on overriding labor-bill veto. June 23, 68-25.

The Taft-Hartley Act, vetoed by the President, became law when the Senate on June 23 followed the House and overrode the President's action, 68-25.

10. H. Con. Res. 49, to disapprove Reorganization Plan No. 2, making the United States Employment Service a permanent part of the Labor Department. Agreed to June 30, 42-40.

The Senate killed President Truman's plan to reorganize the Labor Department, by a vote of 42-40. Rejected by the House, the plan had proposed that the United States Employment Service be placed permanently in the department, where it now is by wartime executive order, and that the Wage-Hour Administration be made subject to control of the Labor Secretary. Stripped of all but four divisions, the Labor Department has little to do but collect statistics.

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THE RECORD OF THE SENATE

	1 Lilienthal Confirmation	2 Greek-Turkish Aid	3 Taft-Hartley Act	4 Cut Foreign Relief	5 Income Tax Cut	6 Continue Rent Control	7 Reed-Bulwinkle Bill	8 Wool Tariff	9 Overriding Labor Veto	10 Reorganize Labor Dept.
ALABAMA										
Hill	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sparkman	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ARIZONA										
Hayden	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
McFarland	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
ARKANSAS										
Fulbright	+	−	+	+	+	O	+	+	−	+
McClellan	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
CALIFORNIA										
Downey	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
Knowland	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
COLORADO										
Johnson	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+
Millikin	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
CONNECTICUT										
Baldwin	+	−	−	+	−	O	−	+	−	O
McMahon	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+
DELAWARE										
Buck	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Williams	−	+	−	−	−	O	−	+	−	−
FLORIDA										
Holland	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−
Pepper	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
GEORGIA										
George	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	O
Russell	+	−	−	−	+	O	+	+	−	+
IDAHO										
Dworshak	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Taylor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ILLINOIS										
Brooks	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Lucas	+	−	−	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
INDIANA										
Capehart	−	−	−	O	−	O	−	−	−	−
Jenner	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
IOWA										
Hickenlooper	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Wilson	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
KANSAS										
Capper	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Reed	−	−	−	+	−	O	−	−	−	−
KENTUCKY										
Barkley	+	−	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Cooper	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−
LOUISIANA										
Ellender	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
Overton	−	−	−	+	+	O	−	+	−	+
MAINE										
Brewster	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
White	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
MARYLAND										
O'Conor	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
Tydings	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
MASSACHUSETTS										
Lodge	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
Saltonstall	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
MICHIGAN										
Ferguson	−	−	−	+	−	O	−	+	−	−
Vandenberg	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
MINNESOTA										
Ball	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
Thye	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
MISSISSIPPI										
Bilbo	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Eastland	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+

	1 Lilienthal Confirmation	2 Greek-Turkish Aid	3 Taft-Hartley Act	4 Cut Foreign Relief	5 Income Tax Cut	6 Continue Rent Control	7 Reed-Bulwinkle Bill	8 Wool Tariff	9 Overriding Labor Veto	10 Reorganize Labor Dept.
MISSOURI										
Donnell	+	−	−	+	−	O	−	−	−	−
Kem	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
MONTANA										
Ecton	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Murray	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
NEBRASKA										
Butler	−	+	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−
Wherry	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
NEVADA										
Malone	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
McCarran	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
NEW HAMPSHIRE										
Bridges	−	−	−	+	−	O	−	O	−	−
Tobey	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	O
NEW JERSEY										
Hawkes	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Smith	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
NEW MEXICO										
Chavez	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
Hatch	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+
NEW YORK										
Ives	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
Wagner	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA										
Hoey	+	−	−	+	−	O	−	+	−	−
Umsted	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
NORTH DAKOTA										
Langer	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	−	+	+
Young	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
OHIO										
Bricker	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Taft	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
OKLAHOMA										
Moore	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
Thomas	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
OREGON										
Cordon	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Morse	+	−	+	+	+	O	+	−	+	+
PENNSYLVANIA										
Martin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Myers	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
RHODE ISLAND										
Green	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McGrath	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA										
Johnston	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Maybank	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+
SOUTH DAKOTA										
Bushfield	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Gurney	+	−	−	+	−	O	−	−	−	−
TENNESSEE										
McKellar	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
Stewart	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	−	−	+
TEXAS										
Connally	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
O'Daniel	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
UTAH										
Thomas	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+
Watkins	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
VERMONT										
Aiken	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+
Flanders	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
VIRGINIA										
Byrd	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
Robertson	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
WASHINGTON										
Cain	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Magnuson	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA										
Kilgore	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Revercomb	−	+	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−
WISCONSIN										
McCarthy	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−
Wiley	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
WYOMING										
O'Mahoney	+	−	+	+	+	O	+	−	+	+
Robertson	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−

The symbol {+} indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol {−}, indicates an anti-progressive vote. Those paired, or announced, against progressivism are tabulated {−}; those for, or announced for, progressivism {+}. Those paired generally or absent are tabulated {O}. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the Senate.

*Names of Democrats are set in light type, and Republicans in **bold italic**.*

A short explanation of each of the votes appears, with a corresponding number, on page 24.

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An Odd, Restless, Beautiful Country

by Martha Gellhorn

Traveling across the USA, you encounter curious folkways, singular taboos and a mixture of magnificence and unworldliness

THE country goes on, being beautiful and strange.

In the mountains of North Carolina there is a clear, irregular piece of water, poured between green hills, and called Lake Lure. It compares favorably to Annecy or Garda, but did you ever hear of it? There are the Great Smoky Mountains piled on each other in huge, blue-green waves; the red land of Georgia and the pines; the dunes of Santa Rosa Island like a low chain of snow mountains with the sea glass-green and purple before them; the wild dark forest around Lake Pontchartrain: a land going on forever, changing and lovely.

And the countryside is strange with its own life, and with its lightly anchored, restless people. At the edge of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, some tamed, scrubbed Cherokees live on a reservation that looks like a sanitarium, and sell knickknacks to tourists. The passing white Americans, mainly Southerners, regard the Indians as a picturesque tourist attraction. I wonder if the Indians ever go to a shapeless neighboring town in order to stare at the picturesque whites. They would see the young palefaces waiting around a jukebox until someone produced the requisite nickel for music and then, silent and with expressionless faces, launching themselves into their tribal jitterbugging. These mysterious, not gay, complicated gyrations are obviously a ritual dance. The dancers, instead of feathered headdresses, wear uniforms: the girls in shorts that cover only what is essential by law, and with long, loose shirts; the boys in T-shirts and trousers rolled above their ankles. Why travel to Yucatan or Bali when the natives dance so exotically in every American village?

This is the second of two articles on the contemporary American scene by Martha Gellhorn, who is now touring the United States.

In Charlotte, a brigade of ladies calling themselves "Does," who seem to be the female branch of the Elks, were holding a convention. The whole performance, and above all the ladies' faces, was scarcely credible. There are times when American women seem to form a third sex, something entirely apart, or perhaps they make another race rather than a sex. Dressed in printed silks and often bunched with orchids, they were given over to a fierce and purposeful activity, and the town, a little frightened, made way for them. From Baltimore to Houston, the cities seemed crawling with conventions. Why, isn't this the American system of fiestas, substituting some improbable club or fanciful business for a saint's day?

You are never really let alone in the South. The loudspeakers that carry, onto the streets, unwanted music, advice and recitative are replaced—on the open road—by commanding signs. Drink Fosko (the South surely swallows more colored, sweetened horror than is consumed with safety elsewhere in the world); or Sit on Spratline's Seat Cushions; and finally, and often, one is warned: Prepare to Meet Your God. Preparing to Meet God is no light event. In some unmemorable hamlet, on a stringy main street lined with dusty cars, a man of God stood outside the drugstore and exhorted sinners to step up and be saved. He did this in the blaze of Saturday afternoon, and from a distance he sounded as if he were having a fit or being tortured. Closer to, he made no sense at all and his voice was terrifying as he screamed, threatened and groaned. A young farmer in blue jeans, lounging unconcerned near this dreadful exhibition, opined that "people can get crazy on God just like on likker. Seems they sit alone and think too much and they just get crazy on it."

At Florala, in Alabama, a freckle-faced veteran owned and operated the bus-stop café. He remembered eating baked octopus in Naples and he remembered Switzerland, where "they had everything under control. They didn't have no black market until the American soldiers came. You couldn't eat more than your share even if you had the money." He had left a fine, $80-a-week job at Niagara Falls, because of the housing; and returned to Florala, where he was born. He worked from seven in the morning until nine at night, and that way "kept from getting restless." For restlessness is a disease as definite as malaria and must be steadily fought with all possible sanity precautions.

Hotels and farewells

THERE at Florala too, on the edge of another delightful unknown lake, a very fat man and his agreeable wife were opening a new hotel. It was the eighth which he had bought, rebuilt, furnished, opened, operated and sold in the course of six years. You could not think they were principally interested in bettering themselves, for each hotel had been a success and offered a life of security and ease. They were interested in moving; or they were impelled to move.

It is charming the way everyone in the South says, "Come back." This is

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the regulation farewell at gas stations, soda fountains, general stores, tourist camps. "Come back," they call, "come back." Do they feel marooned in one place, lost, needing to believe someone will return to share their exile on the similar main streets, in the varied but always new-looking land?

And everywhere, from the beaches of North Carolina to Biloxi and Lake Pontchartrain, the not-rich people were vacationing. Americans have a habit of thinking that foreigners do not work, that some hereditary laziness prevents them becoming rich and thus causes them to stir up endless trouble. But I have never seen any country where so many people took so much time off to have fun.

We are a wildly energetic people in our pursuit of pleasure, let alone in our pursuit of money, and we are very odd to look at as we go about our lives. Someday, no doubt, foreigners will come to watch us, as—in our time—we streamed from Oberammergau to Pekin, watching them. They will find the country beautiful beyond belief and the natives peculiar enough to make the trip worthwhile.

Schools without education

WE were impressed by the number of schools, perched along the roads, all spanking new, with fine hygienic windows, and the playgrounds loud and bright with children. The road signs say "School—Slow," with great frequency; and the school buses chug about in laudable numbers. This wealth of schoolhouses does not correspond with the Jeeter Lester preconception of the South any more than does the striking prosperity.

Besides the schools, there are many colleges, looking like spreading country houses under their old trees. It would seem that people in the South are hipped on education and, judging by buildings alone, they ought to be a very learned set of people. This would scarcely appear to be the case. I have the impression that reading is an occupation suitable only for the sick or bedridden; and that the expression of ideas, the effort for articulate thought, is considered unnecessary. Most of the citizenry have not troubled to study grammar, despite the pretty schools. They speak English, on the whole, as if they were still learning it with some difficulty.

A pair of rarities

ON THE other hand, we saw two institutions of learning which seemed remarkable because the students evidently felt their education was a great and serious privilege. These rarities were Black Mountain College and Tuskegee Institute.

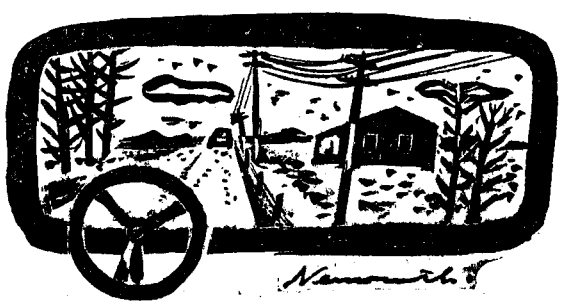
Black Mountain College, if nobody has bothered to tell you, is a collection of unattractive and scarcely comfortable buildings set alongside a bright, small lake, with mountains ringing it, and a lovely morning mist and a purple-soft evening sky. The young who attend this place are as lively a bunch as I ever saw, very merry with their Borsodi-communal life, wonderfully earnest about the world they live in and as intellectual as all get-out. I suppose their great human experiment is the mixing of colored and white students, in the heart of the lynch country. But it seemed to me, perhaps inaccurately, that there was a self-consciousness about this, an excessive consideration for the Negro students because of their color. The experiment will become successful when they can all treat each other with cheerful, friendly rudeness, irrespective of pigmentation. Obviously the white students and faculty cannot forget their sense of outrage against the injustice that is visited on the Negroes, economically and socially, since they live in constant contact with this injustice. When we were there, little groups of white students were walking the streets of Black Mountain, getting signatures to a petition for space for colored people in the local movie house. It is certainly an inalienable right of Americans to go to the movies, even if only in Jim Crow seats.

In a rural way, Black Mountain is the nearest thing I have seen in America to the café life of students in Europe. By this I mean that it has been a long time since I heard young people talking steadily and with such passion about Art, Love, Life and Politics. I think these kids will turn out to be fine, if slightly unhappy, citizens. Not for them the abiding love of things and the comfortable herd minds of their countrymen. It would be interesting if they would settle, like human time bombs, in the South.

Freedom from condescension

TUSKEGEE is a big, rich, handsome place: the Negroes have made their own world here and made it fine. George Washington Carver's laboratory is open to the public and it was moving to see, not only because of the audacious, selfless and determined mind that worked there, but because it is a shrine. Two stout, brightly clad colored ladies, panting in the heat on the laboratory steps, gossiped together in the lovely voices Negroes have. They were not of the privileged group which studies here—they were the poor ones without education—but they had the joy of ownership and the right to admire. Colored school children, looking awed, obedient and bored, filed through the big room, shepherded by their teachers. Young men studied the exhibited test tubes, with reverence. Everyone was proud: Dr. Carver was theirs; this great campus was theirs; and—freed of the intolerable condescension of the whites—they seemed to stand straighter, walk faster and to be happy, not in the way of the poor Southern Negroes, a mindless, chuckling happiness that is almost resignation, but happy because their world looked good. The young people who graduate from Tuskegee also will become fine, if slightly unhappy, citizens. The country has not grown up to them.

At Orange, on the Sabine River,



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we entered Texas. At once, you felt that every man was out for himself and in a hurry about it. All charm disappeared, to be replaced by cactuses, oil wells and a climate like living under a vast hair-drier. There is too much land here and it could do with an influx of new blood. When you think of all the people rotting in DP camps, it seems a crime that southern Texas should waste under the sun.

We fled through Texas, through Beaumont and Houston, with its outer fringe of Luna Park and gaudy tourist camps, its oil-boom crowdedness, through all the ugliness and grab, longing to be gone. But in Houston there was a man who should be mentioned—he seemed a phenomenon; he was kind. He ran a parking lot and enjoyed doing kindnesses to strangers. In this he was well out of the swim, for no one else in that part of Texas would have had time for such fantasy. He was loaning money to a woman, a hitchhiking waif who needed an operation; helping repair a shabby car belonging to some travelers who could not afford a garage mechanic; and trying, in an unaccented, easy way, to be decent to his fellow men. They should elect him mayor, for my money.

The unreality of ignorance

AFTER all the miles and all the weeks, there is still no conclusion to draw from driving through America. It is beautiful and strange. It has also a great quality of unreality, because the reality of most of the world now is hunger and desolation, gutted houses and factories, the car that lies pocked with bullet holes and rusting at the side of the road, the burned-out tank, the ration tickets, the devious anguish of black markets, the hopelessly repaired clothes, the cracked shoes and the wretched allotment of coal. I do not see how anyone can make that reality clear to Americans, because they have not felt it and experience is not communicated through the mind. But if Americans could understand and feel that reality, someone should tell them to be generous quickly, to be impractically and imprudently generous, since it is not safe for one nation alone to be so blessed.

Books in Review

The Real Thing

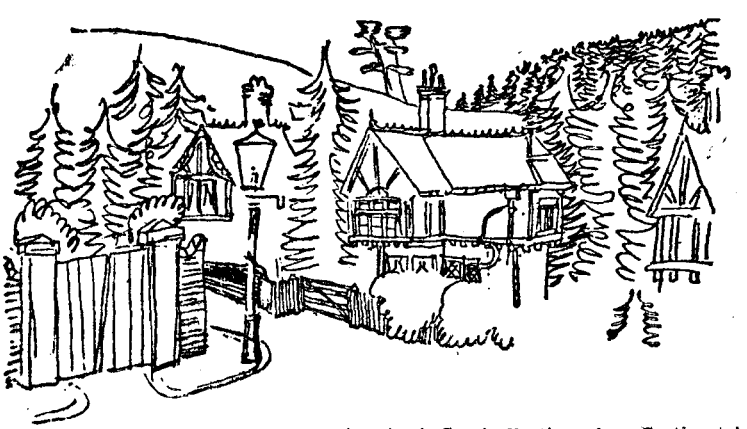
SLICK BUT NOT STREAMLINED, by John Betjeman (Doubleday and Company; $3).

OF RECENT YEARS a small but ardent cult and a minor legend have been growing up around an English poet named John Betjeman. Little known in America and not too widely recognized in his own country, Betjeman has come to be appreciated by a growing audience as the possessor of a specialized, unobtrusive but thoroughly delightful talent that reveals a quality of unmistakable distinction. But, although he has been hailed by W. H. Auden and had a poem printed in one of Somerset Maugham's anthologies, there has been so little known about him on this side of the Atlantic that even those who have perhaps read one or two of his works have suspected that he was a gay and prankish invention of Auden himself.

Now that this collection of Betjeman's poetry and prose has at last been published here, with the inevitable Auden introduction, American readers will be able to sample him for themselves and discover the strange enchantment of his verse. It is just possible that in the process he will capture some of the recognition his unusual gifts warrant, but there is also the chance that the myth about Betjeman being Auden in a playful mood will gain circulation as a result of the lively, appreciative and slightly kittenish introduction contributed by the better known poet. Auden is rightly enthusiastic about the man he is introducing, and his foreword has many interesting and entertaining things to say as it dashes merrily from a richly deserved scolding of the *New Yorker* for its snobbish attitude toward homespun verse to an equally deserved approval of the comic strip called "Li'l Abner."

When he says that it is difficult to write about Betjeman because it makes him jealous, he may not be indulging as completely in hyperbole as one might suspect, and I think we can almost take him at his word, but it is to be hoped that the wary reader will be sure to realize that he is joking when he adds that "even if there was a real Betjeman once, I am afraid that he has been evicted and his place taken by the obstinate spirit of my favorite aunt Daisy." Otherwise they might find themselves giving credence to that hoax about Betjeman being a jesting Auden.

THIS REVIEWER is in the happy position of being able to cut down this potential legend without delay. From the summer of 1942 to that of 1943 I was stationed in Dublin on the wartime mission of telling neutral Eire about America at war. My British



Drawings by de Cronin Hastings, from Continental Dew

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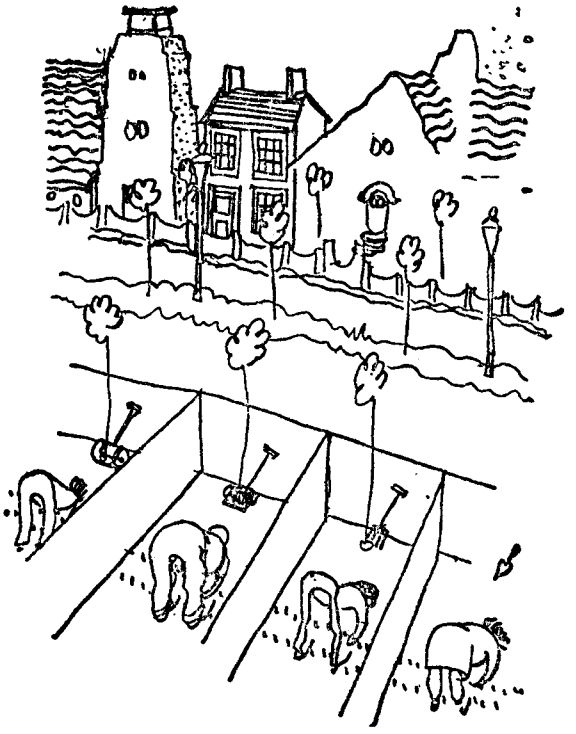
opposite number, the English press attaché, was a wonderful man who laughed at my barbaric American humor, knew more Irish revolutionaries than any other man in the country, had a wider variety of friends than any foreigner in Ireland and cherished a passion for bad church architecture. His name was John Betjeman, and I think I discovered that decidedly unholy passion of his before I learned that he was a poet. To hear that somewhere in a remote Irish village was a particularly awful example of Protestant architecture would be enough to send him darting across half of Ireland, and reveling in its detail, not scornfully or patronizingly, but with great and delighted relish. That genuine interest in unsightly buildings, if they are just pretentious enough, is, incidentally, to be found amusingly set down in the prose section of *Slick But Not Streamlined.*

AMONG the interests of an extremely versatile and amusing man was an ironical and somewhat perverse preoccupation with the Irish language. If this interest was, as I say, not without ironical perverseness, it was not that he lacked an honest interest and considerable knowledge of Gaelic, which the De Valera government is so concerned with advancing—and, on the whole, so unsuccessful in making a nationally spoken language. It was, however, my suspicion that Betjeman's chief reason for learning it so well was the ability it gave him to confound the more vigorous language advocates, who often, it turned out, didn't speak Irish so fluently themselves. There is no escaping the fact that Betjeman, who was certainly the greatest aid and comfort of my official Irish year, did have a gay perversity about him, which was one of his most entertaining features. It must have been that quality which led him to the whimsical suggestion, concerning which I never did find out whether he was serious or not, that he and I and the German and Japanese press attachés should form an international propagandists' union, exchange ideas and draw up a code of ethics and unfair practices. It is indication of both my colleague's antic humor and the unreal sense of things in wartime Eire that I not only never knew if he did think it might be a good idea but actually came to feel it might have some merit at that. There was nothing obstinate, however, about his interest in Irish revolutionaries, the more anti-British and irreconcilable the better. That arose from a deep zest for the variety of Irish life.

I think that he had a good time in Ireland, because Eire, even under the curiously puritanical spell which the sheer personal force of De Valera has cast over a naturally gay and exuberant people, was still vigorous, lively, intellectually amusing and filled with good conversation, conviviality and racy characters. All of these things, even the unnatural atmosphere of dourness that the current doldrums of Irish nationalism had mixed with the more customary heartiness of spirit, interested him, even though the job of propagandizing an officially neutral land has its unsatisfying aspects. Yet even while enjoying himself among unreconstructed Irish rebels, the melancholy, "Cherry Orchard"-like remnants of the old Anglo-Irish ascendency set, and his odd and somewhat unaccountable American colleagues, Betjeman missed England deeply, her provincial towns, her factories and colleges and churches, and her architecture both beautiful and hideous. I think he probably even missed the days when he had been selected as movie critic of the London *Evening Standard* because Beaverbrook wanted the man on the paper who knew and cared least about films to be his reviewer and picked on Betjeman as just the one for the job. That he missed those movie days may be only a guess of mine, but that he was lonely for the towns, the villages, the country estates and the rivers and highways of his native land cannot be doubted by any reader of *Slick But Not Streamlined.* The poems are filled with a genuine devotion for the English land.



Betjeman's verse is essentially gay and light, and there is a wonderful humor about it, but it can also be effectively moving—for example, "The Arrest of Oscar Wilde at the Cadogan Hotel," which seems to me one of the finest of modern poems. "In Memory of Basil, Marquess of Dufferin and Ava" is the one work in the collection which has much to do with the late war, and it is a splendid example of an honest emotion set down with an emotional frankness which does not fear to be unashamedly sentimental in its effect when such an effect is demanded. It is right to think of John Betjeman as a humorous poet or a poet of seemingly unconsequential things, but Auden is right in issuing a warning about taking that lightness too lightly. He is even right in being thus dogmatic about it:

> I am tempted at this point to forestall any idiotic critic who may think—whether with approval or disapproval is all one, for both are equally wrong-headed—that Mr. Betjeman's poems are trivial, that, because he does not write earnestly about religion, love and death, he is lacking in real faith and sincere emotion, but I realize that the blind cannot be argued into vision.

In my perhaps prejudiced eye it

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seems clear why Auden should admire Betjeman so much and even why there could be some truth about his being slightly jealous of him. Betjeman's verse has such ease and facility, without ever seeming careless, shallow or mechanical. He knows what effects he wants to achieve and he achieves them with the most beautiful simplicity. In a manner that is quiet and unpretentious without ever making a great point of being either, he is an authentic poet of exceptional skill, as well as a prose writer of biting humor upon occasion. To give just some idea of his poetic style I choose almost at random something that strikes me as characteristic of his perhaps minor mood:

Oh, in among the houses,
The viaduct below,
Stood the Coffee Essence Factory
of Robinson and Co.
Burnt and brown and tumbled down
And done with years ago
Where the waters of the Wandle do
Lugubriously flow.

This is by no means first-flight Betjeman, for which you must go to the Wilde poem or any of a dozen of his finer pieces. I doubt that John Betjeman will ever achieve the vogue or standing of an Auden, but I hope America will recognize him as the exceptional poet he is.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

Many Happy Returns

LINDEN ON THE SAUGUS BRANCH, by Elliot Paul (Random House; $3.50).

HOW DEAR to Elliot Paul's heart are the scenes of his childhood, this book's 400 pages of fond recollections amply demonstrate. The scenes are laid in Linden, Massachusetts, at the turn of the twentieth century, "as obscure a little community as there was in the broad United States."

Linden was the "forgotten ward" of Malden, a Boston suburb on the Saugus branch of the Boston and Maine Railroad. It had neither old settlers, fine architecture nor famous citizens to distinguish it, and it customarily received Malden's second-best schoolteachers and horsecar drivers. Linden inhabitants, Paul implies, liked it that way. They asked nothing better than to be left alone to enjoy their own, bawdy humor at the Massasoit House bar, to practise their involved practical jokes, to watch the breeding of the notorious village bull, to pursue the local ladies, to eat elaborate New England meals and to keep their town as close as possible to its *status quo* of two-thirds middle-class Protestants, one-third "proletarian" Irish Catholics (discreetly isolated in their own community on the south side).

Linden was the kind of town in which Paul would like to see every child grow up, a town where "nearly everybody liked everybody else" and where, without the soap operas, popular magazines and movies of today, the people could give their full attention to the relentless digging-out of the details of their neighbors' private affairs.

YET, by his own account, Linden did not always enjoy its happy obscurity. The battle over the Blue Laws —begun by the Linden Improvement Association to keep out Italians and Jews and turned against them by a shrewd young Boston lawyer—put the town on the front pages of the Boston papers, whence the news traveled, via Associated Press, north, south, east and west. Still the furor must have died down rapidly (although Paul's diverse, anecdotal account does not go into this), allowing Linden, for a few more years at least, to settle back into complacency.

Everybody in Linden really knew his place, enjoyed it and kept it. Although the townspeople protested an influx of "foreigners," a few representatives of different national strains were accepted into Linden life. Moe Selib, the Jewish tailor, was a popular tradesman and tactfully kept his household in Faulkner. Jeff Lee, the famed chef at the Massasoit House and the only Negro in town, was respected, and intelligent enough never to try to "marry anyone's sister." Mario Bacigalupo was the dean of the small Italian colony. Linden leaders went to considerable pains to avoid hurting his feelings when they carelessly overlooked him in taking up collections for new baseball uniforms, and considered him an ambassador of good will for his countrymen, even though they balked at a sizable invasion of those countrymen.

Linden people were basically "good," Paul insists. They were always sorry later when one of their practical jokes went too deep and really hurt the victim. They did not advise a person in advance when they saw he was about to make a mistake, because they knew the results would be amusing to watch. They helped the poor and those in trouble. They fought good-naturedly. And they were all—at least in the author's memory—"characters."

In addition to a few remarkable animals, Linden contained as rich and complex a collection of human beings as any Paul was to discover later on the Rue du Chat Qui Pêche in Paris. With a loving leisureliness, he probes their eccentricities and actions, including those of his own family—not as the boy that he was when he lived there but as the sophisticated observer and writer he became. Except for a few scenes of the boy Elliot struggling precociously to grasp the adult implications of a situation, it is the author of *The Life and Death of a Spanish Town* and *The Last Time I Saw Paris* who is observing, through a nostalgic haze, the Linden of the 1900's.

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The book is written in a manner that almost but never quite suggests *Tristram Shandy*. Paul breaks off his stories to introduce, at length, a new character and to describe the other events in which he or she figured, or to dwell upon the changes of season in Linden, or to contemplate an idea. But, unlike Sterne, he does not appear to do this as a deliberate joke. The book is designed to follow no special course and many of the anecdotes seem so incidental that it is hard to tell where they end. One is occasionally startled, pages later, to find an earlier situation picked up again where it was dropped. Also, although it is quite as broad, Paul's humor is nowhere near so funny as Sterne's.

ANNE L. GOODMAN

Worth Reprinting

NOVELS AND STORIES BY ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. Selected with an introduction by V. S. Pritchett (Duell, Sloan and Pearce; $5).

SELECTED WRITINGS OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. Edited with an introduction by Saxe Commins (Random House; $5).

THE AMERICAN NOVELS AND STORIES OF HENRY JAMES. Edited with an introduction by F. O. Matthiessen (Alfred A. Knopf; $5).

NOVELS OF MYSTERY FROM THE VICTORIAN AGE. Selected with an introduction by Maurice Richardson (Duell, Sloan and Pearce; $5).

A RAW YOUTH, by Fyodor Dostoevsky. Introduction by Alfred Kazin (Dial Press; $3.50).

THE extensive reprinting of old books in the past several seasons is cited as evidence of the slump in new writing, as though it were a guilty aspect of that sterility. On the contrary, we can be almost grateful to this sag in the business for at least forcing publishers to what should be a perennial activity: making good books available by reprinting.

To consider any large number of reprints together (as I mean to do through several subsequent issues) is to think of them almost as an anthology, and to quarrel with omissions and inclusions. From this point of view, it is difficult to understand the excessive attention paid lately to so minor and slight a figure as Robert Louis Stevenson. (Pritchett's volume, indeed, would seem to be merely a publishing error, as it is included, with the exception of *Kidnapped*, in the Random House volume.) The ennui which almost any adult feels for Stevenson's writings is explicable and sound. Several literary generations ago his prose was held in awe as a model of "fine writing" and the delicate posturings and anemic sentiments of his essays were taken for the cream of that "gentle art." The overwhelming influence of this enthusiasm on required schoolroom reading has been too recently suffered to permit any present reversal to the old infatuation. It is difficult to believe, in fact, that a revival of taste is ever likely. As with most very personal writers, Stevenson's vogue depended on the predilections of his audience, which was charmed by the picturesque bohemianism, the whimsy, the dandyism of the eternal semi-invalided youth. In the non-fiction (which is generously represented in the Random House volume) these characteristics are almost the entire matter of the writing, and at this short distance in time, they pale almost to illegibility.

What would be of interest, but what is missing, is a selection of Stevenson's letters. In these his personality is displayed to best advantage and with the least embarrassment. The *facts* of a life can always make an effective claim to interest, and Stevenson's life was sufficiently dramatic to create a legend in his own time. For some account of his family, his travels, his marriage, his illness, and his relations with the literary figures of his time, we would gladly exchange, in the Random House volume, *Virginibus Puerisque* and *A Child's Garden of Verse*.

ONE of the recent volumes for which we can be most grateful is F. O. Matthiessen's selection from *The American Novels and Stories of Henry James*. This book now adds to the available works almost one thousand double-columned pages. I find it natural to consider this book as a companion to *The American Scene*, reissued by Scribner's last year. James was probably the most penetrating critic our "scene" has ever had, and this present volume, spanning in its selections the length of his career, affords a history of his attitudes and conclusions about his native land.

James took an enormous (and American) delight in the exaggerated, the grotesque, the anomalous, and his sense of this is never more lively than at home. Some of his best examples of the national type are to be found in his stories of a European setting, where the American is more characteristic than ever (*e.g.*, that jewel, Mamie Pocock, in *The Ambassadors*), but on this side of the Atlantic his wonderful visual sense was able to support and intensify his social observation.

Those observations, exact and often devastating, have endured; for one reason, he kept close to the sources of the American moral atmosphere. He has demonstrated, for instance, the awkward intensity of the "high type," the New England aristocrat (*e.g.*, Mr. Wentworth, in *The Europeans*). "They take things hard . . . undergoing martyrdom, not by fire, but by freezing." Significantly, the only one to relax the "high severity" is the callow young son, and he gets drunk.

James was sensitively aware of a crucial crack in the national temperament which is still evident: the romantic exoticism of the American imagination on the one hand, and on the other the grim materialism of our fondest hopes and demonstrated achievements.

"NOVELS OF MYSTERY FROM THE VICTORIAN AGE" is a good idea gone wrong. In the first place more than two-thirds of its pages are devoted to *The Woman in White* and *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. Wilkie Collins' novel is one of the most interesting of its time, and certainly of its genre, but it is already available in several inexpensive editions, not to mention that it gluts the second-hand book shops. Stevenson's tale is too familiar to submit to any editorial idea.

The two shorter pieces in the book

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only indicate the direction it *should* have taken. Of these, the really extraordinary story is one called "Carmilla," by the Irish writer, Joseph Le Fanu. Its subject is vampirism, and it is intentionally a straightforward horror story, but it is no pastiche of mere creaking machinery. The situation is the relationship between two young girls, the victim and the aggressor, and the horror effect is obtained from the essentially monstrous nature of the relationship, which is, all the same, described in perfectly natural terms. Carmilla, the vampire, herself "dead," sustains her ghoulish life on the blood of her victims, for whom she conceives an ecstatic lust, which she describes: "In the rapture of my enormous humiliation I live in your warm life, and you shall die—die, sweetly die—into mine." The vampire myth is used as a poetic device for expressing the complex psychological drama, and even in this conventional context of contrived horror, it is precisely the suffocating reality which is disturbing and haunting.

Such a remarkable story is probably unique rather than representative, but there is undoubtedly a large, almost obliterated, literature from which a selection could have been made for this book. It would be interesting to see, in more numerous examples, how the tricks of such stories were related, however crudely, to a submerged sense of the monstrous and frightening in human relationships, those "accursed passions" which appear in our fiction purged by clinical analysis.

"A RAW YOUTH" is the least read of Dostoevsky's novels, and with reason. It is occasionally tiresome, often involved, and is not controlled, like the great works, by a mastering concept. But for all this, it is inevitably captivating in the variety of character and incident, the sheer profusion and invention and life of it. I find it, incidentally, the most amusing of the longer novels. It has a lightness of tone, and a gayety and playful irony more often found in Dostoevsky's short stories. Alfred Kazin's introduction is an informative and suggestive preface to the book. JOHN FARRELLY

Labor

Uneasy Bedfellows

AMONG the casualties of the postwar era have been most of the 5,000-odd labor-management committees on production which, at the peak of war urgency, worked together with varied results to stimulate the output of supplies. It is generally argued, by the champions of labor-management "cooperation" in such committees, that labor seldom tried to infringe management's "prerogatives," that the most useful function of the committees was to combat such relatively narrow problems as absenteeism, that labor, in short, "knew its place." The viewpoint, though perhaps representative of labor thinking at the time, misrepresents the present attitude of such intellectually vigorous groups as the CIO's United Automobile Workers and Textile Workers' Union.

The facts can be better understood if we realize that many progressive union leaders, definitely non-Communist, believe today that labor should no longer humbly "keep its place." They think unions in the mass-production industries must concern themselves with broad questions of production and price policies; for example, the supply of steel available according to the concepts of US Steel and its satellite manufacturers, the rate of technological change in industry.

In short, despite denials or previous behavior, labor has now begun to challenge the "prerogatives" of management, and unless management is wise enough to welcome this development and to recognize its responsibility to furnish stable employment, trouble lies ahead for America's capitalist economy.

American workers are basically nonrevolutionary. Respect for the boss is as deeply ingrained in union workers as the legend that every worker carries a marshal's baton in his lunchbox, that each has a chance to rise to the presidency of his corporation. A little-known CIO pamphlet on labor's "direct share" in management, written by Dorothea De Schweinitz, points out that rank-and-file members proved during the war that they did not seek to intrude obstreperously in management's field.

But long before the war, the International Association of Machinists (now independent but formerly connected with the AFL), the AFL International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, had done some trail-blazing in union-management coöperation. Many a profit-making company survives today because the unions, operating through representatives well informed about the problems of their industries, helped the companies solve certain difficulties.

DURING the war, the skepticism of many managements about the usefulness of labor-management production committees vanished. The magazine, *Factory Management and Maintenance,* published a survey stating that four out of five companies felt the committees had been "generally successful." More than 90 percent found "no evidence" that labor attempted to "usurp" management's functions.

Philip Murray, president of the CIO and the United Steelworkers, is a canny Scotsman. He says, in a statement printed in the De Schweinitz pamphlet, that labor "does not question management's right to run business." He merely insists that, in modern business, there is a "growing

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need" for a closer linking of "authority and technical knowledge." But by the "technical knowledge" he apparently means knowledge within the limited range which can be furnished by experienced rank-and-file workers; I cannot find evidence that he is saying workers can supplement the widely publicized "know-how" of the employers.

Yet management "know-how" is sometimes grossly exaggerated. Many managements know, technically, how to set up an assembly line. Yet there are few signs that they understand what their workers think about the assembly lines, the scarcely formulated desperation of workers at the mechanistic qualities of these lines.

Here is where labor-management committees, reëstablished and given freedom by management to discuss the basic urgencies felt by workers in the mass-production industries, could help solve some of the most serious difficulties felt by management. There seems little doubt, on the basis of wartime experience, that production would be favorably affected. But the broader problem is whether management will be enlightened enough to confess its social responsibility for jobs and confident enough of the workers' integrity to seek coöperative techniques.

THE threatened "revolt" of the AFL International Longshoremen against "King" Joe Ryan, president "for life," did not come off at the union's recent convention. Gene Sampson, the union leader most often mentioned as a possible opponent of Ryan, took the lead in helping reaffirm Ryan's position. . . . The proposed merger of the United Automobile Workers and the Farm Equipment Workers, both CIO, which I mentioned two weeks ago, was badly beaten in a UAW referendum. It was a victory for president Walter Reuther and a serious defeat for vice-presidents R. J. Thomas and Richard Leonard and secretary George Addes. . . . For the record, Green has now formally rejected any political coöperation between the AFL and the CIO next year without previous AFL-CIO organic merger. WILLARD SHELTON

Radio

Success Story

RADIO stations all over the country are scrambling for a new transcribed series. Within two weeks of the first announcement, the show was ordered by 110 stations. Thirteen of the 110 are 50,000-watters—as powerful as any permitted for standard broadcasting in this country. Despite the show's liberal theme, six of the 50,000-watters are in the South or penetrate below the Mason-Dixon line. In one city, both the local NBC affiliate and its rival CBS outlet are signed up. In another city there is a battle on among the ABC outlet, the Mutual station and a small rival of both, an independent station with a mere 5,000-watt coverage, which wants first rights in its area. In New York, six stations will carry the same program. What's happened? Is everything liberals say about radio untrue? Has radio suddenly reformed?

The answers, in inverse order, are: It's not a case of mass conversion and there is some truth to the liberals' charges against radio—but progressives have much, very much, to learn about the medium and the people who run it. What is happening in this case is that the new series is another production originating with the Institute for Democratic Education. And to broadcasters in this country, the initials IDE stand for something.

You may recall my mention of the IDE in this space some time back (the *New Republic,* April 21). I reported then that a Tin Pan Alley team, Hy Zaret and Lou Singer, turned its commercial skill to a batch of jingles and radio spots peddling democracy, understanding among people, etc. To date, 425 stations have played the spots, and orders are still coming in at the rate of about 100 stations a week. Now the IDE has wrapped up another of its packages, thirteen 15-minute shows entitled "Lest We Forget—the American Dream."

"Dream" is the IDE's eleventh full series. The tenth was called "Lest We Forget These Great Americans." It consisted of 13 dramatized biographies of great Americans—including Woodrow Wilson and Wendell Willkie, Jane Addams and George Washington Carver, George W. Norris and Justices Brandeis and Holmes, and Franz Boas and Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Having no playback machine of my own, I muscled in on a Muzak (wired music) studio one day to hear the FDR platters. When the show was over, I found that a bunch of busy engineers and technicians had stopped their work and were listening with me. There, in that studio, they applauded—cheering a cold disk of the kind they handle by the hundred every day. That show, and the others in the "Great Americans" series, was played by 740 stations.

IT could have been claimed that that happened when we were still under the spell of the war, when it was still patriotic to indulge the One World hangover. That was only partly true. Most of the stations that played the "Great Americans" series did so in 1946, when "tolerance" was no longer so fashionable. The real answer was to be found in the IDE's reputation for showmanship—a reputation which has produced the response, audition unheard, to the IDE's current series by the stations of this country.

I suspect there is no reader of this space who needs to be told that a Negro should have as much opportunity to become a mathematician as anyone else; that a small-town women's club should not discriminate against a woman because her name is Italian; that a Mexican in Arizona should not be lynched because he is suspected of murder; that a Jew should not be driven out of his neighborhood. That's what these shows are about. Clichés? Sure, the ideas are trite. So

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are a lot of words like peace, democracy, etc. While the condition exists, the fight goes on. The problem is, as it has always been, to find fresh and effective ways of waging it. That is where the IDE has succeeded.

The IDE knows the medium for which it is preparing the material. It sprinkles its series with stars, and it doesn't hurt to have one show headed by Helen Hayes and another by Fredric March. They are among the names heading the "Dream" series, as are Everett Sloane, Elissa Landi, Ralph Bellamy, Sam Levene, Paul Lukas, Jackson Beck, Wendy Barrie, Berry Kroeger, Canada Lee and Victor Jory.

BUT names alone are not enough; it takes money to produce good radio platters. IDE fiscal details are the responsibility of the director, Dr. Howard M. LeSourd, dean, Boston University, and a board of governors.

Then there is the production know-how. Harold Franklin, program director for the IDE, has that. For most of the shows on the new series, he used as director Earle McGill, one of the men who helped gain a top reputation for the old, prewar "CBS Workshop." It takes also top-drawer writers. For some reason, the IDE gives no credit to the scripters on the transcriptions, so I'll break no confidences. But the ones I know are up front.

There is very little likelihood that the series will skip your neighborhood. Of course, you can make sure by inquiring of your favorite station's manager, but he needs no pressure to take an IDE series. He knows the outfit better than you do. You can be cynical about the fact that the show is free and that the station gets the publicity benefit of big names. But big network affiliates don't need names badly; they get them on sponsored shows, and small stations can buy a "name" platter for as little as $3. When these stations put on an IDE show, they do so for a variety of reasons, but cupidity is not one of them. Believe it or not, some of them even like to help the IDE "foster democratic ideas"—when it's done with showmanship.

SAUL CARSON

Music

Summer Music, Quaker Style

NATURE has made a better provision for outdoor music at Robin Hood Dell in Philadelphia than in any of the other principal cities where big summer programs are presented. The natural amphitheatre out on the edge of Fairmount Park seems to be just the right size and shape. Although as many as 17,000 listeners have been able to attend without crowding, it gives an impression of intimacy. The grassy banks are not too high to cut off the breeze, yet they are high enough to eliminate the noises of traffic. Robin Hood Dell does not need to resort to the exaggerated amplification New York's Lewisohn Stadium uses to compete with airplanes, and the music reaches the audience with less distortion than you will find anywhere else except at Ravinia Park in Chicago.

With so attractive an asset as the Dell, you would think that the financial security of summer music in Philadelphia would be assured. This is by no means the case, however, and ever since the first concert was given there in 1930, Philadelphia has been trying to decide what to do about it. For the first 10 years the Dell concerts were maintained by the Philadelphia Orchestra Association, and the annual deficit was justified by the argument that the concerts gave off-season work to the players. In 1942, however, the orchestra board withdrew its sponsorship and now has no connection with Robin Hood Dell beyond permitting the men to play there. The concerts continue to lose money—much more this year than last—but the annual deficit is now met by a dwindling list of contributors known as the Friends of the Dell.

Most of the programs, like those at the Stadium and the Hollywood Bowl, are based on the conviction that outdoor music is more mass entertainment than art. Only the most popular symphonies and concertos are played at the Dell (you can be sure of a high incidence of Tschaikovsky and Rachmaninov every year, with a number of Beethoven and Brahms symphonies as universally acceptable ballast). Serious works are frequently jumbled up with light music. The concert I heard recently under the baton of Vladimir Golschmann, conductor of the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, was typical. It ranged from Haydn's G-major symphony No. 88 to an encore in which Jan Peerce, the tenor soloist, did a production number called "The Bluebird of Happiness," in which he advised us, as he used to advise his Radio City Music Hall followers, to "be like I, hold your head up high," and hunt for the shining side of the cloud.

IN an evening whose purpose is relaxation, there is probably no reason to object to such a mixing of genres, though it would have been a fairer competition if Golschmann had managed to make as much of the Haydn symphony as Peerce did of his potboiler. But there is no use railing at Golschmann, who has always seemed too concerned with his own stance and gesticulation to be able to do much for an orchestra. The conductor of most of the Dell concerts, and the musical director of the whole enterprise, is a far more impressive

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leader, Dimitri Mitropoulos, conductor of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra.

A unique piece of showmanship at the Dell is provided by the first cellist, Samuel Mayes. A lanky young chap who looks no more like a cellist than does James Stewart, but who is a very good one, Mayes has the instincts of a first-rate cheer-leader or master of ceremonies. Peerce never dusted off his bluebird routine for a more responsive and extroverted listener, and at the end of it Mayes whipped up such a demonstration among his colleagues that orchestra men almost drowned the applause of the 5,500 listeners out front.

WHILE Golschmann took over for him in Philadelphia, Mitropoulos made his Lewisohn Stadium debut with a concert version of Puccini's "Madame Butterfly."

The cast was generally acceptable, and Eleanor Steber, as the misused 15-year-old Japanese heroine, sang the title role with the most beautiful outpouring of warm tone New York has heard in the part since Elisabeth Rethberg sang it last a decade or so ago.

The performance was an opportunity to hear the orchestra score played better than you will ever hear it done at the Metropolitan, but "Madame Butterfly" proved a singularly inept choice for presentation by a row of singers standing woodenly in evening dresses and white suits before a microphone. It needs kimonos and cherry blossoms.

Even so, Mitropoulos made an impressive thing of it. There is no fraud about him. When he conducts a complicated work, he really knows it. He lacks the poised simplicity of Pierre Monteux, the serenity of Bruno Walter at his best, the patrician aristocracy of Serge Koussevitzky. His taut nervousness sometimes threatens to push the players into strident tone and jagged rhythmic attacks, so that his conducting has the excitement of impending calamity which, in the end, never occurs. However, Mitropoulos is never dull and he never means to exploit himself at the expense of the music.

CECIL SMITH

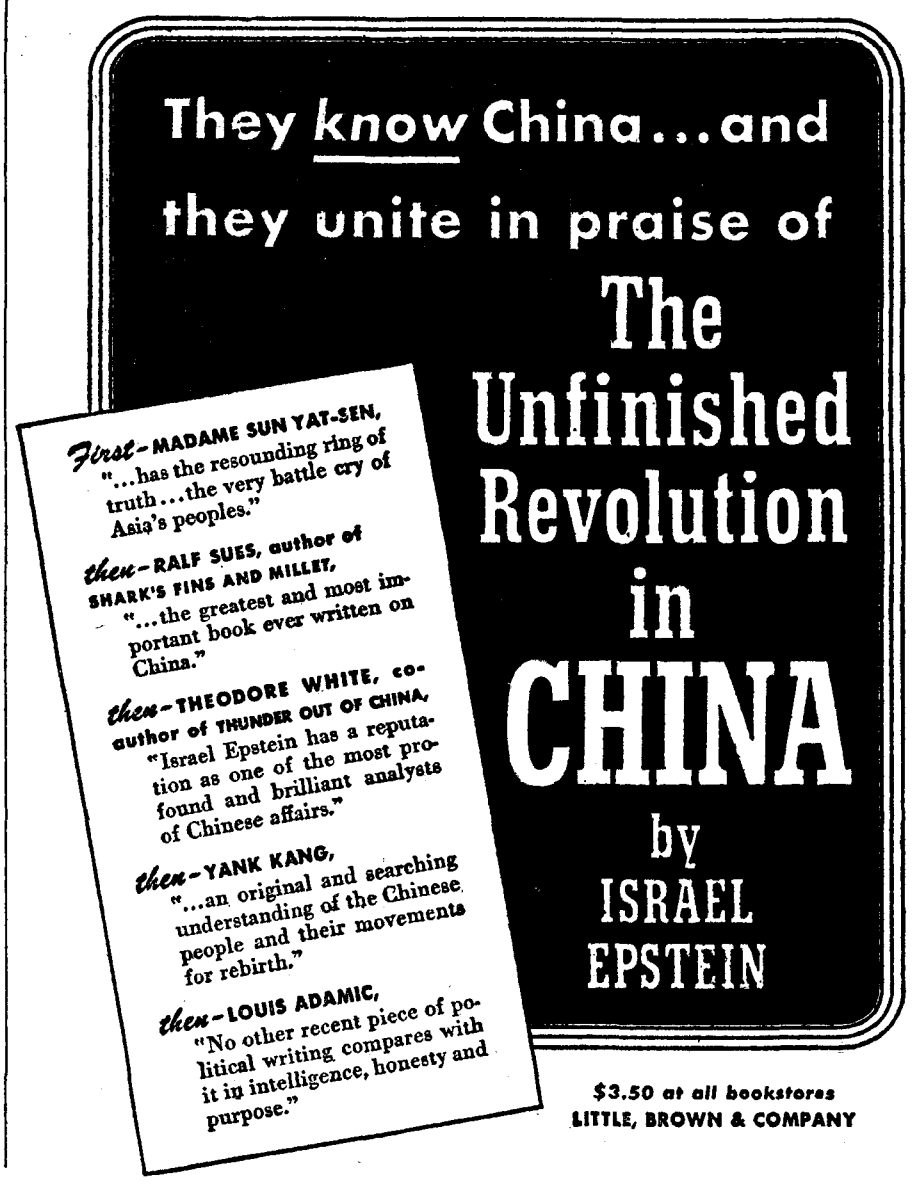
United Nations News

The Man From Vermont

THE recognized leader of the Western bloc within the United Nations is ex-Senator Warren Robinson Austin, chief delegate from the United States, who speaks for democracy, capitalism and conservatism in the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Austin was chosen for the job because he had been one of the few Senate Republicans who favored world government. He was the logical bipartisan choice of a government that supports a self-interested brand of internationalism. He is able to follow a policy laid down by the Army, Navy, State Department and Congress without qualms—he agrees with it.

Warren Austin of Burlington, Vermont, is a small-town boy who made good by steady hard work. He combines all the qualities of traditional small-town America. He started out as a successful, if uninspired, lawyer for corporations and deserving individuals. He is honest, upright, kind to animals and children. He attends the Congregational Church, is an Elk, a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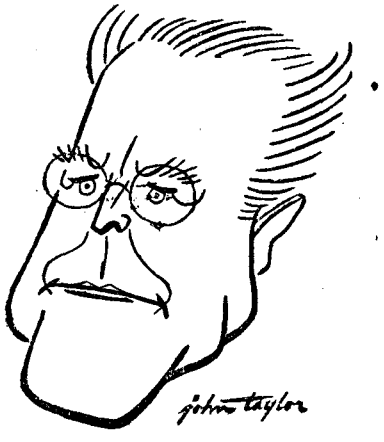
Mason and an Odd Fellow. He is happily married and the father of two sons—in fact, he was nominated Father of the Year a few months ago. He is a robust man of 69 who rises early, exercises, eats a hearty breakfast and reaches his office in New York's Fisk Building by 9:30 a.m., looking immaculate in white shirt, custom-made suit and cheerfully colored tie. He and his wife live in the Waldorf Towers now, but whenever he can, Austin visits Vermont to be with old friends and to putter in his famous apple orchard.

At Lake Success he is on personal, friendly terms with Sir Alexander Cadogan of the United Kingdom and Andrei Gromyko of the Soviet Union. He is as popular with the Secretariat as with his colleagues. But in meetings he invariably lines up with the Western voting bloc, and is usually its leader. He seldom shows any anger at opponents' statements, unlike his alternate, Herschel Johnson, who occasionally loses his temper at the Russians. As a speaker Austin is at his best when he talkes extemporaneously, rolling out homespun homilies. "International control is the oaken beam of the whole superstructure of atomic control," he will say. Or, "Making war is just like stepping on the other fellow's lawn. We don't do it—not just because there's a statute against it; it just isn't done."

AUSTIN'S wholehearted support of present US foreign policy is partly the outgrowth of his basic belief in all things American, partly the natural sequel to his Senate experience. In the Senate, Austin was an ardent anti-New Dealer, but while his domestic record remained uniformly conservative, his record on foreign legislation became more and more world-minded.



WARREN AUSTIN

Austin did vote against the reciprocal-trade agreements in 1937, but he admits now that it was a mistake. A year later he urged repeal of the Neutrality Act, and in 1941 he backed lend-lease—although he tended to stress Anglo-American coöperation on a cash-and-carry basis. He participated in Hull's secret foreign-policy meetings; he worked on the Act of Chapultepec, which cemented hemisphere solidarity, and he was a supporter of the UN long before it existed.

BUT in the UN, Austin believes that the US position is almost certain to be the morally just position. Progress generally occurs, he believes, when the Russians concede a point to the Western powers. Only rarely is it possible for us to make concessions. Our program for taking over the Pacific islands by means of a "trusteeship" agreement was good because "the strength of the United States, the efficiency of the military establishments of the United States [in these islands], is a direct source of collective security." Our power must be used to stop Russia in the Balkans; our military strength must be maintained despite a world police force, for "the rest of the world hopes and prays that the United States will remain strong."

In fact, according to Austin, collective security should be largely formed and carefully guarded by the United States, which knows best in such matters. He believes that the "accentuation of the national aggressive spirit causes war." But he feels that the Russians have been the chief offenders in the direction of nationalism, while the hands of the US remain clean. Nevertheless, major disagreements with certain of his colleagues do not shake Austin's faith in the world organization. "The UN is the only hope of the world for doing away with these causes of war," Austin says—and he "means" it.

JANE BEDELL

Farm

Floods and the MVA

TO prevent a flood, you must control raindrops at the point where they strike the earth. This seems obvious. Yet those in the flood-control business have never recognized the fact.

I am referring, of course, to the Army Engineers, who have been trying to do something about floods for almost a century. They have spent billions of dollars, built hundreds of dams, constructed thousands of miles of levees, but the floods have become worse in areas where the Army has tried to control them. Flood disasters have become so great that conservationists feel that the control of water on the land may ultimately determine our national existence.

It is nonsense to talk about flood control at the bottom of the watershed. The theory that the Army Engineers rely on in flood-control work is that if the stream is constricted—put in a corset, so to speak—the water will dig out the channel so that it will not only carry more water but carry it faster. They believe that levees and dikes which narrow channels will control the water and protect the land in the river valleys. Exactly the opposite has been proved true. Constricting the channels of rivers does not deepen them. It merely lessens their carrying capacity and thus causes more floods.

The chief weaknesses of the Army approach to a flood-control project are that it persists in building its dams downstream and that it concentrates its main effort on making rivers navigable. One of the old settlers who lives in the vicinity of Jefferson City, Missouri, told me recently that from 1903 to 1927 there were no floods at Jefferson City, but that as soon as the Army started building its levees in 1927, floods began to increase in frequency and intensity and that during the last six years there have been four disastrous floods, the one this year being the worst of all.

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Despite such evidence, the Army has stubbornly stuck to its fallacious theory and has not only built unneeded structures which aggravated flood conditions but has fought every other agency engaged in flood-control work. Its feud with the Bureau of Reclamation has been a scandal for many years because it has tried to block needed irrigation projects.

There are sincere people in the Engineer Corps who apparently believe that the Army can stop floods, and I suppose that the proper charge to make against the Army is that, consciously or unconsciously, it is operating in self-interest and that it has been influenced by the powerful agencies working against any new form of the TVA.

Signs point to the Army's continued domination of flood control. The so-called agreement whereby the Bureau of Reclamation and the Army Engineers divided up the Missouri Valley as you would a pie will not prevent the Army from building useless projects. The poor Bureau of Reclamation will get only a few crumbs which fall from the Army's table. The Army, with its more powerful lobby and the support of selfish interests, will dominate the scene.

THE so-called Pick-Sloan Plan is of course no plan at all. Brigadier General Lewis A. Pick has developed a plan for building levees and dikes as far up as Sioux City, Iowa, to contain the Missouri River, and also proposes to build dams in the Missouri Basin for flood-control and power purposes. In general the dams are to be built in a lower part of the basin. On the other hand, William G. Sloan, an engineer in the Department of the Interior, has offered a plan which provides for building dams for the most part in the upper areas of the Basin for irrigation and power. These two plans, lumped together and approved by Congress in the Flood Control Act of 1944, divided up the flood-control and irrigation work which the Bureau of Reclamation and the Engineers had previously proposed separately.

NATURALLY there was a great deal of overlapping in the flood-control and power suggestions. The weakness of this plan, or rather plans, is that neither agency is permitted under the law to work on the land itself to stop floods. What is needed is an intelligent and integrated land-use program which will hold most of the water where it falls, and a number of small upstream dams which will impound the water before it reaches the major branch. Neither the Pick Plan nor the Sloan Plan, nor a combination of both, will stop floods.

Farmers, in general, recognize the Army plan for what it is. They know that nine times out of ten money appropriated for a dam built by the Army will be a strictly pork-barrel proposition. They also know that other

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groups are directly or indirectly behind the Pick-Sloan Plan if for no other reason than to checkmate a Missouri Valley Authority.

The Power Trust, which in 1943 took out of the Missouri Valley $100 million more than it would have been allowed under TVA rates, has been fighting the MVA idea ever since Senator James E. Murray (D, Mont.) first introduced his bill in 1944. In July, 1945, an outfit representing about half the utility industry set up offices in Washington. All kinds of accusations have been made in the press controlled by the utilities and by various pressure groups opposed to the MVA. The most common ones are that a Missouri Valley Authority is communistic, would overthrow our form of government and would be an invasion of states' rights. All of these charges are ridiculous, as was pointed out by Louis Bromfield in the recent MVA meeting in Washington. The TVA is democracy functioning at its best. It is directly responsible to Congress and its work is carried out by a well trained organization in the field. It has not only prevented floods but has furnished cheap power, has raised immeasurably the standard of living of the people and has safeguarded the most precious resources, the water, minerals and agricultural lands.

IN THE Missouri Valley the value of farm land and buildings from 1929 to 1945 declined from $39.17 an acre to $25.28; in the Tennessee Valley it jumped from $39.02 to $46.30. In 1943 the Missouri Valley, which contains nearly one-fourth of the nation's farm land, had about one-fourth less installed electrical capacity than the Tennessee Valley, which contains less than two percent of the nation's farm land. From 1929 to 1939 the Missouri Valley lost population while the nation as a whole gained seven percent and the Tennessee Valley gained 12 percent.

The way to develop the Missouri Valley and to stop floods is as plain as the nose on your face, and an MVA is opposed only by those who are ignorant, deceived or have an axe to grind.

ANGUS MCDONALD

Correspondence

The Mind of Germany

SIR: The informative article by Sidney Sulkin in the *New Republic* of April 21 on the intellectual climate in occupied Germany contains a regrettable error. I am writing you about it with so much delay since I wanted to ascertain the facts, which is not too easy under present censorship regulations. Mr. Sulkin in speaking about *Der Ruf,* a magazine edited in Munich by Germans who had been prisoners of war in the United States, remarks that after promising beginnings, that magazine had gone so far in its nationalistic drift that recently a new version of the good old stab-in-the-back legend appeared in its columns.

Now *Der Ruf* has been in the opinion of many people inside and outside of Military Government, not to mention the Germans, one of the most striking experiments in German postwar journalism. . . . There has indeed been doubt about the way in which the editors by their frank criticism have asserted their independence toward the occupation authorities. I personally believe that the language they have used is the only one apt to divert the young generation, for which the magazine is written, from dangerous demagogues. Their tactics would, however, be unforgivable if the editors had actually made an appeal to nationalistic emotions by unearthing the disastrous myth that the German army had been robbed of the fruits of victory by the disgruntled civilian population. But there has appeared not a single such statement in any of the issues of the magazine. On the contrary: *Der Ruf* has been the only paper I know of which during the Nuremberg trials stressed over and over again that the greatest criminals on trial were not even the Nazi gang but the German General Staff. . . .

New York City PAUL BENNER

SIR: Mr. Benner exaggerates when he quotes my reference to what he calls "a new version of the good old stab-in-the-back legend." To be exact I said, "It was possible to detect the rising note of an old theme." In my article, I mentioned specifically an editorial published in *Der Ruf* in January which caused quite a stir among both MG people and many Germans at that time. This editorial warned young Germans against coöperating too much with the Americans. It obviously did not play too heavily on German patriotism from a negative and potentially dangerous point of view. As

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a matter of fact, the American overt publication, *Die Neue Zeitung*, printed an editorial replying to *Der Ruf* and a polemic developed in which the new attitude of *Der Ruf* became even more apparent. One more point: in my article I did include *Der Ruf* among a group of promising periodicals—the sad fact, however, is that even among these one finds dangerous ideological flaws.

Stamford, Conn. SIDNEY SULKIN

Bandwagon

Coils within Coils

Russia has delivered a box load of non-poisonous snakes to Great Britain, London Zoo officials disclosed today. Britain, in return, will send boa constrictors to the Moscow Zoo. Officials said the exchange was common before the war and has no political significance. – *UP dispatch from London.*

The Red and the Black

The priest whom he assaulted, a stranger to Clark, was the Reverend Pierre V. Goedertier, SJ, assigned to St. Boniface Roman Catholic Church, 304 East Forty-seventh Street. The assault took place on Sunday afternoon in the Avenue of the Americas near Forty-fourth Street. The defendant's plea was that he had been drinking and thought Father Goedertier was a Russian. – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Pork-Barrel Marksmanship

Some persons commented on the apparent reflection on the caliber of Capitol policemen on the basis of Kaiser's bad marksmanship despite his use of a target pistol and his proximity to his intended target. It was suggested that the selection of Capitol policemen on a patronage basis was an insubstantial foundation for security. – *From the New York* Times *story of the attempted shooting of Senator John W. Bricker.*

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"INFLATION (AND A TRAGIC DEPRESSION) IS COMING!"

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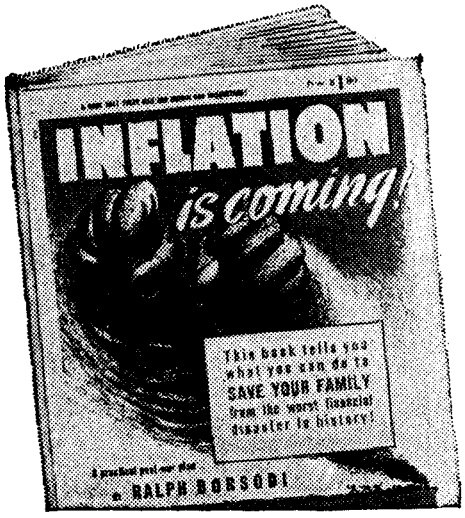
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